SOCIAL LIFE IN NORTHERN INDIA

Brijnarain Sharma

SHOUT
SHARE
IT

प्रसिद्धार्थ इ. बं. चं.
यांचा सादर नंदा
छ. ना. शाळा
इचलकरंजी. ८

SOCIAL LIFE
IN
NORTHERN INDIA

SOCIAL LIFE
IN
NORTHERN INDIA

[A. D. 600 — 1000]

BRIJ NARAIN SHARMA

With a Foreword by

Dr. A. L. BASHAM

WITH COMPLIMENTS FROM
MUNSHIRAM MANOHARLAL
PUBLISHERS: BOOKSELLERS
NAI SARAK. DELHI-6.

MUSEUM OF SALEM PENNSYLVANIA

MUNSHIRAM MANOHARLAL
POST BOX NO. 1165, NAI SARAK (EDGERTON ROAD)
DELHI-6

First Edition: NOVEMBER, 1966

© Munshiram Manoharlal

Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Delhi, 1961.

Price

Rs. 25.00

954
S528

PRINTED BY J. K. SHARMA AT ALLAHABAD LAW JOURNAL PRESS, ALLAHABAD AND PUBLISHED BY DEVENDRA JAIN FOR MUNSHIRAM MANOHARLAL, NAI SARAK, DELHI-6

To

My Great-Grandfather

Mahamahopadhyaya Har Narain

Shastri, Vidyasagar

0/80

FOREWORD

The period from the reign of Harṣa to the Muslim invasion has often been characterised, in some respects rightly, as one of decline. The first efflorescence of Indian civilization was long past, and the golden age of the Gupta empire had ended with the break-up of the imperial administration and the invasions of the Hūṇas. In the field of politics the weakening of central control encouraged a quasi-feudal system of administration, and there is good evidence to show that law and order were not so well maintained, and that the people were more harassed by the continual feuds of local war-lords, than in the great days of the Mauryas and Guptas.

But history is far more than politics and military affairs, and if Indians did not show the genius for administration that they had done in earlier centuries, their civilization continued, developed, and prospered. The centuries covered by Dr. Sharma in his study saw great developments in the field of religion, the production of masterpieces of art, architecture, and literature, and important work in the fields of philosophy, mathematics, and medicine.

As Dr. Sharma has pointed out so clearly, the period was one of increasing social rigidity, with the tightening of the caste system and the strengthening of religious and customary taboos. Measured by the yard-stick of twentieth century equalitarian rationalism this development, of course, is not one which the historian will applaud. But there is another side to the picture. Without the rigid caste system it is doubtful if Hindu civilization would have survived the attacks of the more aggressive cultures which implanted themselves in India in the later period, and no practice or custom will be observed freely and willingly by millions of people unless it meets some need, either material, psychological, or spiritual. The caste system, for all its defects, gave a degree of security in an insecure world. His caste and his joint family provided the ordinary man with something to which he could look for help and guidance, however oppressive the government of the day. When alien rulers with different values and customs controlled his land, his caste and his family were the objects of

his loyalty. These institutions did much to preserve Hindu culture, which, had they not existed, might have gone the way of Christian culture in the Middle East, or Zoroastrian culture in Persia.

Thus the period we are considering, though marked by a decline in some respects, was one of which no Indian need feel ashamed. In his long and thorough monographs Dr. Sharma has dealt with those aspects of it which, though they are less studied in colleges and universities, were probably more important in their effects on succeeding centuries than the numerous internal wars and dynastic changes of the times—the social order, the religious developments, the changes in family life. He has gathered material from a very wide range of sources, and has presented his findings with restrained scholarship. I am glad to have the privilege of introducing his study to the world.

LONDON A. L. BASHAM

15th November 1961.

PREFACE

An endeavour has been made in the present work to present an account of the North Indian society during the four centuries of the post-Gupta period of Indian History, i.e., from A. D. 600 to A. D. 1000. The greatness of the Gupta period had been possible after India had met successfully the challenges of Śaka and Kuṣāna inroads and evolved a new way of life which, while preserving much of what was old, took in also a good deal that was new and sometimes even foreign and made many new contributions of its own to the cultural life of the country. But further shocks followed when India was invaded again by tribes from the North-west. New problems arose, and some of the old ones also assumed new forms. The necessity of finding some solutions to them, became all the more urgent when the Arabs invaded India in the beginning of the eighth century A. D. We find the rise of new privileges and restrictions, new safeguards and with that also certain tendencies in the opposite direction. The period under survey shows these two pulls throughout. How far we have been able to bring out the character of these tendencies will be seen from the following pages.

As a necessary preliminary to this task the political conditions during this period, along with the social conditions at its advent have been reviewed in the first chapter. Chapters II to XI deal with the main aspects of Indian society, viz., marriage and the position of women, caste system, education and literary activities, religions, pilgrimages, fasts and popular beliefs, toilet, dress and ornaments, food and drink, and village and town life. A chapter on 'Education and Literary Activities' has been included in the work mainly to give an idea of the intellectual standards, ideas and activities of the age and with a view to seeing whether we could on their basis characterise it as an age of creation or degeneration. In the chapters on religion, the sculptures of divinities have been discussed less from the viewpoint of iconography and more from that of social history. In the last chapter (Chap. XII) we give our view of the period, an estimate of what India had gained or lost and was bequeathing to the coming generations.

The information for this work has been derived from various sources historical as well as semi-historical. The vast amount of literature in Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Apabhraṁśa written during this period is a mine of information regarding the life and culture of the people, though it has to be used with the caution necessary for the utilisation of such material. Some of the literature produced a little outside Northern India or a little anterior or posterior to our period has also been utilised because it is difficult to fix a sharp dividing line separating social facts of one decade from those of the others, and the communications between adjoining areas were fairly frequent. The bibliography at the end of the book would give some idea of this literature, secular as well as religious. We have neither discarded information from *Dharmaśāstras* nor philosophical books, if it could be shown to have belonged to our period.

The accounts of foreign pilgrims and travellers have been fully and critically utilised. But care has been taken to see whether the traveller was writing something from his own observations or quoting from a book or merely repeating what he had heard from others, for travellers' tales cannot obviously be the basis of true history.

Information derived from the archaeological material, consisting chiefly of epigraphic records, architectural remains and sculptural antiquities is extremely useful because it is assignable to a particular date or period and is thus more useful than the information derived from literary sources. We have used it to check as well as corroborate the literary evidence.

The scheme of transliteration attached herewith gives our method of the transliteration of Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Apabhraṁśa words. The modern proper names, particularly of countries, towns and individuals have been spelled in the usual way without the use of diacritical marks.

I feel it my pleasant duty to dedicate this work to the memory of my great-grandfather the famous Orientalist, Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Har Narain Shastri, Vidyasagar, Professor of Sanskrit, Hindu College, Delhi and Honorary Reader in Sanskrit, University of Delhi. It was his deep interest in Indian literature and culture that inspired me to take up research in a subject of Ancient Indian History and Culture.

I have no words to express my gratitude to Dr. Dasharatha Sharma, M. A. D. Litt., Reader in History, University of Delhi, at whose advice I took up this subject and whose constant and ungrudging guidance has enabled me to complete the thesis. Nor can I adequately thank Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Professor of History, University of Delhi, who was kind enough to go through the whole narrative and suggest many valuable improvements.

I owe my grateful thanks to Dr. A. L. Basham, Prof. of History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (now Professor, University of Canberra) who has favourcd me by kindly contributing a valuable and thought-provoking Foreword. I am indebted to those authors whose works I have consulted and utilised in preparing the book; to Acharya Shri Indravijaya Suri for allowing me an unrestricted access to his valuable collection of books; to my revered father Pt. Sri Narain Sharma for the kind and constant encouragement; to Shri Desh Raj Sharma, M. A. M. O. L., formerly Librarian, Central Archaeological Library, his assistant, Shri D. K. Kapoor (now Librarian) and his Daftry, Shri Bhagavata Sahai, for providing all possible library facilities; and to the publishers, Messrs Munshi Ram Manohar Lal and the printers, Allahabad Law Journal Co. Ltd., for the keen interest and care with which they have brought out the book.

Basant Panchami BRIJ NARAIN SHARMA

Vikrama Samvat, 2022

CONTENTS

		Page
Foreword by Dr. A. L. Basham		vii
Preface		ix
Abbreviations		xv
Table of Transliteration		xix
Chapter		
I.	Introductory	1
II.	Marriage and the Position of Women	10
III.	Caste System	36
IV.	Education and Literary Activities	74
V.	Religion	122
VI.	Religion (Contd.)	190
VII.	Religion (Contd.) : Its Popular Side	221
VIII.	Socio-Religious Rites, Ceremonies and Festivals	247
IX.	Toilet, Dress and Ornaments	266
X.	Food and Drink	287
XI.	Village and Town Life	305
XII.	Conclusion	326
	Appendices	339
	Bibliography	363
	Index	375

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	..	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.
AH	..	*Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭṭa
AHS	..	*Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra* by Krishnavirji
AIK	..	*Age of Imperial Kannauj*, ed. by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and others.
AK	..	*Amarakoṣa* of Amara Siṁha
AKT	..	*Apabhraṁśa Kāvya Trayī* by Jinadatta Suri
AP	...	*Agni Purāṇa*
ARM	..	*Abhidhāna Ratna Mālā* of Halāyudha
ARRM	..	*Annual Report Rajaputana Museum*
AS	..	*Artha Śāstra* of Kauṭilya
ASIR	..	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*
ASIR, WC	..	*Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Western Circle*
ASS	..	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series
AVS	..	*Advaya Vajra Saṁgraha* of Advayavajra
Beal	..	*Life of Hieun-Tsiang*, translated by Samuel Beal
BI	..	*Bibliothica Indica*
BK	..	*Bhaviśyat-Kathā* of Dhanapāla
BKK	..	*Bṛhat-Kathā-Koṣa* of Hariṣeṇa
BS	..	*Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira
BVB	..	*Bhāratīya Veśa Bhūṣā* by Dr. Moti Chandra Agrawala
CBIMA	..	*Catalogue of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art* by Dr. V. S. Agrawala
CII	..	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
CK	..	*Chaṇḍa Kauśika* of Kṣemīśvara
DHI	..	*Development of Hindu Iconography* by Dr. J. N. Banerjee
DKC	..	*Daśakumāracaritam* of Daṇḍin
DS	..	*Durgā Saptaśatī* or the *Devī Māhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*
ECD	..	*Early Chauhān Dynasties* by Dr. Dasharatha Sharma

ED	..	*History of India as told by her own Historians* by Elliot and Dowson
EHI	..	*Early History of India* by Dr. V. A. Smith
EI	..	*Epigraphica Indica*
ERE	..	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*
GE	..	Gupta Era
GK	..	*Gaṇa Kārikā* of Bhāsarvajña
GKD	..	*Gaṅgāsiṅha Kalpa-Druma* by Pt. Devi Prasad Shastri
G. N. Rao	..	*Elements of Hindu Iconography* by T. Gopi Nath Rao
GOS	..	Gaekwar Oriental Series, Baroda
GS	..	Gupta Samvat
GST	..	*Guhya Samāja Tantra* ed. by Dr. B. Bhattacharya
GV	..	*Gauḍa Vāho* of Vākpati
GWOI	..	*Great Women of India*, ed. by Dr. R. C. Majumdar
HB	..	*History of Bengal*, Vol. I, ed. by Dr. R. C. Majumdar
HC	..	*Harṣa Charitam* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa
HCSA	..	*Harṣa Charita—Ek Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana* by Dr. V. S. Agrawala
HDS	..	*History of Dharma Śāstra* by Dr. P. V. Kane
HE	..	Harṣa Era
HIEA	..	*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* by Fergusson
HOS	..	Harvard Oriental Series
IA	..	*Indian Antiquary*
IBI	..	*Indian Buddhist Iconography* by Dr. B. Bhattacharya
IHC	..	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*
INS	..	Inscription
ITB	..	*Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* by Dr. S. B. Dasgupta
ITCE	..	*India through Chinese Eyes* by Dr. S. N. Sen
JBBRAS	..	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*
JBORS	..	*Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*
JGJRI	..	*Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad

JPASB	..	*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JRAS	..	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JS	..	*Jñāna-Siddhi* of Indrabhūti
JUPHS	..	*Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*
Kād	..	*Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa
KJN	..	*Kaula Jñāna Niraṇaya* of Matsyendra Nātha
KKT	..	*Kṛtya Kalpa Taru* of Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara
KM	..	*Kāvya Mīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara
KMK	..	*Kuvalaya Mālā Kathā* of Udyotana-Sūri
KMS	..	Kāvya Mālā Series
LAS	..	*Laghu Āśvalāyana Smṛti.*
MM	..	*Mālatī Mādhavam* of Bhavabhūti
MP	..	*Matsya Purāṇa*
MR	..	*Mudrā Rākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta
MS	..	*Manu Smṛti*
NKK	..	*Niyata Kāla Kāṇda of KKT*
NMP	..	*Nīla Mata Purāṇa*
NSP	..	Nirṇaya Sāgara Press
ORC	..	*Obscure Religious Cults* by Dr. S. B. Dasagupta
PO	..	*Poona Orientalist*
PRAS, WC	..	*Progress Report Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*
PWAI	..	*Position of Women in Ancient India* by Dr. A.S. Altekar
PVS	..	*Prajñopāya Viniścaya Siddhi* ed. by Dr. B. Bhattacharya
Rat	..	*Ratnāvali* of Harṣa
RE	..	Rock Edict
RP Chanda	..	*Medieval Sculptures in British Museum* by R. P. Chanda
RT	..	*Rāja-Taraṅgiṇi* of Kalhaṇa
S	..	Smṛti
Sachau	..	*Alberuni's India*, translated by E. C. Sachau
SAI	..	*Śūdras in Ancient India* by Dr. Ram Saran Sharma
Ś. ṁ S	..	*Śaṁkha Smṛti*
SC	..	*Stuti Caturviṁśikā* of Devanandī
SDS	..	*Sarva Darśana Saṁgraha* of Mādhava
SJGM	..	*Singhī Jain Grantha Mālā*, Bombay
SK	..	*Samrāicca Kahā* of Haribhadra

SNS	..	*Śukra Nīti Sāra*
SP	..	*Skanda Purāṇa*
SS	..	*Smṛtināma Samuccaya*, ASS.
STK	..	*Sāṅkhya Tattva Kaumudī* of Vācaspati Miśra
SV	..	*Śiśupāla Vadha* of Māgha
Takakusa	..	*A Record of Budhist Religion as practised in India and Malaya Archipelago* by I-tsing, tr. by I. Takakusu.
TM	..	*Tilaka Mañjarī* of Dhanapāla.
UBPK	..	*Upamiti Bhava-Prapañcā-Kathā* of Siddharṣi Sūri
UPSK	..	*Uttara Pradeśa Ke Sāṁskṛtika Kendra.*
URC	..	*Uttara Rāma Caritam* of Bhavabhūti
V	..	Verse
Vas. S	..	*Vasiṣṭha Smṛti.*
VK	..	*Vrata Kāṇḍa* of *KKT* of Lakṣmīdhara
VP	..	*Varāha Purāṇa*
VS	..	*Vyāsa Smṛti*
VSB	..	*Viddha Śāla Bhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara
VSMS	..	*Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Sects* by R. G. Bhandarkar
VTK	..	*Vividha Tīrtha Kalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri.
Watters	..	*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* by Thomas Watters
Yāj	..	*Yājñavalkya.*
YS	..	*Yājñavalkya Smṛti.*
YTC	..	*Yaśastilaka Campū* of Somadeva Sūri.
YTCIC	..	*Yaśastilaka Champū and Indian Culture* of K. K. Handiqui.
ZDMG	..	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

अ	a	ठ्	ṭh
आ	ā	ड्	ḍ
इ	i	ढ्	ḍh
ई	ī	ण्	ṇ
उ	u	त्	t
ऊ	ū	थ्	th
ऋ	ṛ	द्	d
ऌ	ḷ	ध्	dh
ए	e	न्	n
ऐ	ai	प्	p
ओ	o	फ्	ph
औ	au	ब्	b
anusvāra	ṁ	भ्	bh
visarga	ḥ	म्	m
क्	k	य्	y
ख्	kh	र्	r
ग्	g	ल्	l
घ्	gh	व्	v
ङ्	ṅ	श्	ś
च्	c	ष्	ṣ
छ्	ch	स्	s
ज्	j	ह	h
झ्	jh	क्ष्	kṣ
ञ्	ñ	त्र्	tr
ट्	ṭ	ज्ञ्	jñ

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY

Political Background

The Hunas invaded India about A.D. 450. Though repulsed by Skandagupta they returned to attack once again and, after defeating the Guptas in A.D. 510, made themselves masters of Central India, occupied Gwalior and for a time perhaps even exacted tribute from the Guptas.[1] Other causes of the decline of the Gupta empire, namely, outbreak of rebellions here and there, wars of succession, and declaration of independence by local governors—all manifestations of the centrifugal tendencies that begin to work as soon as the central power passes into weak or incapable hands, also operated during this period[2] and by A.D. 554 the Gupta empire was no more, even though the Hūṇas had been driven from the Madhyadeśa.[3] The old imperial idea, however, remained and during the next fifty years a number of North Indian states, the most prominent of which were of the Later Guptas and the Maukharis, tried to reassert their supremacy in Northern India. Before the end of the century two more influential powers entered the field, the Puṣyabhūtis of Thaneshwar and the Gauḍas under Śaśāṅka.

We need not describe in detail how a combination of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa and Deva Gupta of Mālwā, led to the end of the Maukhari dynasty and Harṣa's accession to the throne of Kannauj.[4] Nearly forty years of the history of Northern India, from *c.* A.D.

---

[1] The leader of this second Hūṇa movement was Toramāṇa who defeated Bhānugupta and his feudatory Goparāja in the battle of Eran in A. D. 510.—Eran Posthomous Stone Pillar Inscription of Goparāja, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 91.

[2] For details see Dr. H. C. Raychaudhri's *Political History of Ancient India*, Appendix D.

[3] The Hūṇa imperial power in India was finally shattered by Yaśodharman of Maṇḍasor.—Maṇḍasor Inscription of Yaśodharman, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 146, line 4.

[4] *HC*, VI, pp. 183, 186. Baṅskherā Copperplate Ins., v. 6, *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 208.

606-646, receive their unity through the interesting figure of Harṣa, who, even though he might not have been the supreme ruler of all the land lying between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas, was influential enough either to persuade strong rulers like Bhāskara-varman of Kāmarūpa and Dhruvasena II of Valabhī to attend his assemblies[1], or to order Udita of Jalandhar to escort Yuan Chwang to the frontier[2] and the ruler of Kashmir to surrender a highly valued relic of the Buddha.[3] We have glowing accounts of this ruler from the pens of Yuan Chwang and Bāṇa; and even after making full allowance for the pro-Harṣa bias of their accounts, one has to conclude that Harṣa, like Aśoka, was an indefatigable ruler, whole-heartedly devoted to the spiritual as well as material welfare of his people. His success, however, was limited in some ways. He never succeeded in fully repairing the harm wrought by the ravages of the Hūṇas and other barbaric tribes that had entered India. Nor could he give his empire that strong administrative cohesion which characterised the Gupta period.[4]

Harṣa died in *c.* A.D. 646 and with him disappeared, for nearly three-quarters of a century, the unity that he had imparted to the political history of Northern India. About A.D. 720, we have a highly exaggerated and conventional account of the *digvijaya* of Yaśovarman of Kannauj, from the pen of his court poet Vākpati.[5] Kalhaṇa gives a glowing picture of the reign and achievements of Lalitāditya of Kashmir (A.D. 724-760), who after cooperating with Yaśovarman in his fight against the Tibetans and Arabs, ultimately brought about his downfall, subjugated Madhyadeśa, raided Bengal and conquered some territories adjoining Kashmir.[6] We have also some material for reconstructing the history of Nepal, Kāmarūpa, Bengal, Orissa, Valabhī and Rajasthan during

---

[1] Watters I, p. 541; Beal, *Life of Hieun Tsang*, pp. 185-6.
[2] ibid., p. 190. [3] ibid., p. 183.
[4] Yuan Chwang during his stay in India was twice stripped by the robbers and pirates, once in the Punjab, while passing through the *Palāsa* wood and at another time, while sailing down the Ganges.—ibid., pp. 73 and 87.
[5] Vākpati's Prakrit poem *Gauḍavaho* is our chief source of the conquests of Yaśovarman. The defeat of the Gauḍa king by Yaśovarman forms the main theme of the poem.
[6] *Classical Age of India*, pp. 133-6.

this period of comparative darkness which lasted from *c.* A.D. 646 to 780.[1]

It was during these years of the absence of a strong central power in Northern India that the Arabs invaded Sindh in A.D. 712 and succeeded in conquering it.[2] Their raids into the interior of the country, though sometimes not noticed by historians, were of the greatest political significance, for they helped in the rise of the great empire of the Pratihāras who first come prominently into the field of politics by the defeat of the Arab forces which had devastated the kingdoms of Rajasthan, Mālwā, and Gujarat and tried to reach the Madhyadeśa and the Deccan. As rescuers of their people from Arab subjection, the Pratihāra rulers, Nāgabhaṭa I and Nāgabhaṭa II, were regarded as incarnations of Viṣṇu.[3] Bhoja I was known as Ādivarāha, probably on account of his claim to have rescued the earth from the incursions of non-Āryan hordes.[4] From the Pratihāras this tradition of fighting for one's people and culture passed on to the Cauhāns.[5] In India to the south of the Vindhyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, Dantidurga (*c.* A.D. 733-758), acquired fame as a fighter against these foreign invaders.[6]

About A.D. 750, there arose also a strong kingdom in Bengal. People tired of *matsyanyāya* put Gopāla on the throne[7] and the next two rulers of Bengal, Dharmapāla (*c.* A.D. 770-810) and Devapāla (*c.* A.D. 810-850) proved as ambitious as the Pratihāra rulers Vatsarāja, Nāgabhaṭa II and Bhoja I. Nearly two centuries (A.D. 783-973) of the political history of North India are a story of the struggle for supremacy among the Pratihāras, the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, during the course of which, the Pratihāras temporarily reached Bengal, the Pālas occupied Kannauj for a while, and

---

[1] ibid., pp. 136-164.

[2] The Hindu king of Sindh routed by Muhammad-Ibn-Quāsim, the Arab leader, was Dāhir.—*The Cacnāmāh.*

[3] The Gwalior Praśasti of the Gurjara Pratihāra king Bhoja, vv. 4 and 8—*EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 107.

[4] It is clear from his Ādivarāha types of coins.

[5] *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 15.

[6] *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 30.

[7] Khalimpur Copperplate Inscription, *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 213.

the Rāṣṭrakūṭas more than once raided the Gangetic Doab.[1] The Rāṣṭrakūṭa raid, which began with the reign of Dantidurga, continued right up to the reign of the last strong Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Kṛṣṇa III.[2]

The Pratihāras succeeded in giving Northern India an empire more extensive and an administrative system, perhaps, more efficient than that of Harṣa. But after the death of Mahipāla (*c.* A.D. 907-908) the empire began to decline rapidly and our period ends with the centrifugal tendencies asserting themselves once more. In A.D. 1000 Northern India had no political unity. The Tomaras, the Cauhāns, the Guhilots, the Paramāras, the Caulukyas, the Cedis, the Chandellas, besides a number of other kingdoms, big and small, waged their own fights without much care for the large interests of the country as a whole. India's political downfall was in no small measure due to this political disunity. But that there were other factors also, which in some measure, tended in the same direction, would be seen from our account of the social and religious conditions of the ninth and tenth centuries. There were two great challenges to Indian culture in our period, one in A.D. 712 and the other in *c.* A.D. 1000. India fell a prey to Muslim domination nearly two centuries later because of the inadequate response to these challenges.

North Indian Society in A.D. 600

This is the political background of the period of our survey. But another factor equally necessary to assess the social evolution during our period is a knowledge of the North Indian society as it was in A.D. 600. Its main features are indicated below[3]:

---

[1] For the tripartite struggle amongst the Pratihāras, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Pālas see *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 104-25; *History of Kannauj*, Chap. X; *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 55-59 and 64-67.

[2] *The Age of Imperial Kannauj*, p. 150.

[3] The account given here is mainly based on the following works :

(i) *Gupta-Vakāṭaka Age*, R. C. Majumdar and others, Chapters XVIII-XX.
(ii) *The Gupta Empire*, R. K. Mukerji, Chap. XVI.
(iii) *The Classical Age*, R. C. Majumdar and others, Chapters XX-XXII.

The Gupta age which preceded the period of our study witnessed a development in almost every sphere. In Samudragupta, Candragupta II and Skandagupta, India had rulers who not merely administered the country efficiently and defended her against the onslaughts of foreigners, but punished the enemy by pursuing him beyond the Hindu Kush mountains. Consequently we find Indians full of patriotic pride and singing :

गायन्ति देवाः किल गीतकानि
धन्यास्तु ते भारत भूमिभागे ।
स्वर्गापवर्गास्पदमार्गभूते
भवन्ति भूयः पुरुषाः सुरत्वात्[1] ॥

In the field of literature, philosophy, science and art, Indian intellect probably reached the highest watermark in the Gupta period. Educational activities among the masses were encouraged by the Gupta kings by granting benefactions to the *paṇḍits* and scholars. India produced no greater poet than Kālidāsa, the writer of immortal dramas like *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, *Vikramorvaśīya* and *Mālavikāgnimitra* and great poems like *Raghuvaṁśa*, *Kumārasambhava* and *Meghadūta*. Amarasiṁgha, the most popular Sanskrit lexicographer, was also a product of the Gupta age. The Purāṇas, Smṛtis, *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* had their final redaction. Āryabhaṭṭa made epoch-making discoveries in the field of astronomy, and the discovery of the decimal and zero systems of notation in this period was the most notable scientific contribution of India to the world culture. In the field of philosophy much valuable work was done in systematising the principles of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The six *darśanas*, or systems of Hindu philosophy, received a systematic exposition in this period. The images of the Buddha at Mathura and Saranatha remain unrivalled. Their beauty combined with a rare spirituality has drawn unrestricted admiration from art critics.

In the sphere of religion we find the emergence of an all embracing creed, a creed which reflected the Indians' unity in

---

[1] The Gods themselves exclaim : "Happy are those who are born, even from the condition of gods as men in Bharatavarsha as that is the way to the pleasures of Paradise, or the greater blessing of final liberation."—*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II. 3, 24, Wilson's translation.

diversity. There had been three principal religions in India before the Guptas : (1) Brāhmaṇism with its emphasis on ceremonies and sacrifices, (2) Buddhism with its insistence on the renunciation of selfish desires, and (3) Jainism with its stress on *ahiṁsā*. The old Vedic *yajñas*, like *Aśvamedha* etc., which had fallen into abeyance for long were now revived by the mighty Gupta kings, but only to relapse into abeyance again after sometime. *Upanayana* preceded the Vedic studies, and other *saṅskāras* like *Garbhādhāna*, *Sīmanta*, *Cūḍākarma*, etc. were also regarded as an integral part of Brāhmaṇism. The principal deities worshipped by Hindu population were Viṣṇu and his famous incarnations, Śiva, Śakti and her various forms, Sūrya, Brahmā, Kārttikeya, Kuvera, Kāma, Agni, Varuṇa, Indra, Yama, etc. The images of these deities were installed in the big and beautiful shrines where they were regularly visited by the devotees and worshipped with the offerings of flowers, fruits, sandal, lamps, sweets, food, clothes, recitation of prayers, etc. People thus also believed in *bhakti*, i.e., a living faith in God. In fact Hinduism tried to take over the best elements in all creeds. It became the ocean to which all the streams of religious thought could flow unimpeded.

Though personally *Bhāgavatas*, or the worshippers of Viṣṇu, the Gupta kings not only tolerated but also patronised other sects, and their highest officers were drawn from all classes irrespective of their race or creed. Of Candragupta II's ministers, Vīraṣeṇa Śāba was a Śaiva. The Mathura pillar inscription of A.D. 380 or 375 testifies to an offshoot of Śaivas, the sect of Māheśvaras, flourishing at Mathura. Karmadaṇḍa Śivaliṅga inscription of Kumāragupta I's reign records a gift made by a minister of Kumāragupta I. The Gaṅgādhara stone inscription of Viśvavarman mentions the Śakti worship with Tāntrik rites as early as the fifth century A.D. Kārttikeya became popular from the time of Kumāragupta I onwards. Donations flowed freely to Buddhist monasteries from all classes including Gupta officers, and some of the best known Buddhist institutions like the University of Nālandā had their beginnings in this period. Sāñcī and Saranatha continued to be the centres of Buddhist activities. So cordial were the relations between Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism in Magadha that on the 6th day of Vaiśākha, when the Brāhmaṇas took out a procession of their gods they invited the Buddhists also. Jainism also flourished and the construction and installation of many Jaina images is borne

out by epigraphic records. The builder of the Jaina temple at Kāhaum speaks of his devotion to *dvijas*, *guru* and *yati*.

The same conscious and unconscious urge towards unity is to be seen in the evolution of the national language, Sanskrit. It became the official language of the State and the favourite medium of expression for poets, philosophers and scientists, whether they were orthodox Hindus or Jainas or Buddhists. Sanskrit gave the whole of India a unity which she would have otherwise lacked.

People had enough to live on. Those in the urban areas lived not only a life of comfort but also of luxury and yet the higher values of life were never neglected. Fa-hien, who visited India in the days of Candragupta II, found Madhyadeśa, viz., the country extending from Sutlej to the confines of Bengal and from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas, specially prosperous. People possessed a high moral calibre. Capital punishment had been abolished and punishments for crimes were less harsh. People had not to register their household nor report to any magistrate. Not merely the rulers, the subjects also were benevolent and charitable. There were free hospitals for the poor. The travellers to the country were supplied with room, bed, food, drink, medicines, etc. in the free rest-houses. In the city of Pāṭaliputra there were two monasteries where people came from all quarters to study the principles of moral behaviour towards their neighbours. In their food habits, people, according to Fa-hien, totally abstained from meat diet, intoxicating liquor, onion and garlic. But our internal testimony shows that North Indian population consisted of both types of people, vegetarian and non-vegetarian. The vegetarian food chiefly consisted of milk, curd, ghee, grains, fruits, sweets and vegetables. Of meat and wine, various kinds were known.

The ideal of *cāturvarṇya* which formed the basis of Hindu social structure was preached and practised. The caste was generally determined on the basis of birth. Learned Brāhmaṇas were highly respected and given the means of carrying on their duties of *tapas* (penance), *svādhyāya* (vedic study), proficiency in *mantras*, *sūtras*, *pravacana*, etc. and the performance of *agnihotra*, *pañcamahāyajñas* and other vedic ceremonies. Kṣatriyas kept good government of the people and their protection as their ideal. Merchant princes, as before, contributed freely to the maintenance of public services like hospitals and free rest-houses. The position of the

Śūdras also improved. Though not permitted to study the Vedas, to practise penance and perform the religious ceremonies with the recitation of *mantras*, they had their own interests in life. According to the Maṇḍasor inscription of Kumāragupta I , for instance, the life of the silk weavers in that town was guided by a corporate body known as *śrēṇi* or guild. Its members did not only practise their trade but had also acquired proficiency in military science and literary arts and sciences like astrology. Economic betterment and also the *bhakti* cult did much to improve their condition in the Gupta period; and amelioration in their condition might partly have been due to the fact that the Śūdras coming back to Hinduism from Mahāyānism could not possibly accept the position assigned to their forebears by the Brāhmaṇas. The *Antyaja* classes—the hunters, fishermen, scavengers, etc.—had to live outside the town and, whenever they entered a town or a market place, had to strike a bamboo piece on the ground so that the *dvijas* might avoid their contact. The theory of the rise and fall of caste (*iātyutkarṣa* and *iātyapakarṣa*) was advocated and may not have been without some effect.

Eight traditional forms of marriage were accepted, and marriage within the same caste but not the same *gotra* and *pravara* is the law advocated by the Smṛtis composed during the Gupta period. *Anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages were both in vogue but without perhaps the rigidity of later times. Nothing is definitely known about the caste of the Gupta kings. The Kadambas with which they had marriage relations were originally Brāhmaṇas. The Nāgas may have been originally non-Āryan people who later on accepted the Āryan culture. Courtship as evidenced by Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika* was practised, and the *devadāsī* cult was in full swing.

The position of women, though not as high as in the vedic period, was not bad. Women of high class and courtesans received a good liberal education. We have even instances of queens who acted as regents and thus moulded the destinies of the State. *Purdā* was probably unknown. Even widow-marriage may not have been non-existent. Nor is any instance of *satī* forthcoming except that of Goparāja's wife. But in some ways women's position was far from enviable. Polygamy existed. The selection of a suitable bridegroom for girls was the duty as well as the privilege

of the parents. To devote herself to her husband's service and surrender to his will was the recognised ideal of a Hindu wife's life.

Great advance had obviously been registered by the beginning of the seventh century. Further advance could be possible, only if favourable conditions continued, and did not slacken the speed in the right directions, either on account of new obstructions or a slackening of the spirit caused by complacence and too much of worldly luxury and prosperity.

CHAPTER TWO

MARRIAGE AND THE POSITION OF WOMEN

The great service rendered by women in the various vocations of life as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, teachers, friends, etc. has contributed substantially to the march of civilization everywhere in human society. Consequently, in every social organisation, women have been considered as important as men, though the fact is clearly recognised only in highly cultured societies, and forms, in the opinion of many, the best means of judging the standard that a society has reached in its culture.

Up to the Upaniṣadic age (*c.* 600 B.C.), the social position of Indian women was high enough. They were treated in many respects as equal to men. Child-marriage was unknown and no girl could be married against her wishes. They composed vedic hymns and suffered from no religious disabilities. But after that there began a gradual deterioration in their social and religious status. Their education was neglected. Woman as a priest became a thing of the past. Both the *upanayana* and vedic studies were denied to them. Their marriageable age was considerably lowered and the social evils like *purdā* and *satī* managed to creep into certain sections of the society. This general deterioration of women's position further increased during the second half of the first millennium A.D.

Marriage Customs

The birth of a girl has ever been a source of much anxiety and pain to the Hindus and this anxiety increased when the girl reached the age of marriage. In the *Harṣacarita*, Prabhākaravardhana gives expression to this fact very beautifully and brings out three pertinent facts regarding a Hindu girl's marriage. These are :—

1. that a girl's marriage was the parents' concern and put them to the greatest anxiety;
2. that the bridegroom was generally an outsider, many times wholly unconnected by blood with the girl's parents; and

3. that the people shed tears of chagrin when a daughter was born, even though she was as much entitled to her parents' affection as a son.[1]

The first fact is corroborated by other sources, the *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa (7th century), the *Bṛhatkathākoṣa* of Hariṣeṇa (10th century) and the *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā* of Siddharṣisūri (10th century).[2] As regards the second we may note that Yuan Chwang also observes that "relations whether by the father's or mother's side do not intermarry."[3] Alberuni states that according to Hindu marriage law it was always better to marry a stranger than a relative. The more distant the relationship of a woman with the family of her hubsand the better. It was absolutely forbidden to marry female relations both of the direct descending line, viz., a granddaughter or a great-granddaughter, and of the direct ascending line, viz., a mother, grandmother or great-grandmother.[4]

The Smṛti position may be assessed from the statements of Vyāsa, Vasiṣṭha and Śaṅkha, whose Smṛtis are generally assigned to our period, which disallow marriage with a *sagotra* and *sapiṇḍa* girl.[5] Most of the Smṛtis disallow marriage with a maternal uncle's and paternal aunt's daughter.[6] But it would be wrong to suppose, as some have done on the basis of Medhātithi[7], that such marriages were confined to Southern India, for the *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā* also, which represents the conditions in Western India, mentions such marriages as of frequent occurrence.[8] And that this West-Indian tradition is very old can be seen from the

---

[1] Chap. IV, pp. 140-41. See also the author's article, "Women in Bāṇa's Works", *PO*, XVI, Nos. 1 to 4, p. 103.

[2] *Ratnāvalī*, p. 3; *BKK*, p. 102, vv. 30-32; *UBPK*, p. 83.

[3] Watters, I, p. 162.

[4] Sachau, Vol. II, p. 155.

[5] *Vyāsa S.*,II. 2 (*SS*, p. 350); *Vasiṣṭha S.*, VIII. 1-2 (*SS*, p. 200) *Śaṅkha S.*, IV. 1 (*SS*, p. 376).

[6] Like most of our Smṛtis Alberuni also remarks that "it is also forbidden to marry a collateral relation, viz., a sister, a niece, a maternal or paternal aunt and their daughters, except in case the couple of relations who want to marry each other be removed from each other by five consecutive generations."—Sachau, II, p. 158.

[7] *On Manu*, II. 13.

[8] pp. 242, 253, 481 and 568 (Bombay edition).

Mahābhārata where we find Arjuna marrying Subhadrā, who was his maternal uncle's daughter. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* Rukmī is said to have given his daughter in marriage to his sister's son.[1] He married also his granddaughter to his own daughter's son, Aniruddha.[2]

Marriage usually took place at the house of the bride's father. It could be an easy affair if both the bride and the bridegroom lived in the same town. But if the girl happened to be engaged to a man residing far away, it sometimes caused no little concern to the girl's parents.[3] In those days of meagre communications it must have been difficult to reach one's destination on the appointed day for the performance of the marriage ceremony. That is why Bṛhatparāśara recommended that no man should give his daughter to a man living at a great distance.[4] While selecting a suitable bridegroom the parents first considered his caste, *gotra* and *pravara*, and then as suggested by Śukra, in descending order, his learning, age, character, wealth, form and the country of his birth. The daughter could be given even to a penniless man, if the other qualifications, viz., of age, learning, good looks, etc. were satisfactory.[5]

Dowry system in the sense of something already promised was perhaps unknown. But large sums of money were given along with the girl at the time of her marriage. Prabhākaravardhana, for instance, is said to have given, with his daughter Rājyaśrī, horses, elephants, ornaments, costly costumes, etc.[6] In the *Samarāiccakahā* the description of a bride shows that she was fully decorated with costly costumes and ornaments before marriage and carried all of them to her husband's house after marriage.[7]

---

[1] यद्यप्नुस्मरं वैरं रुक्मी कृष्णावमानितः व्यतरद भागिनेयाय सुताम् कुर्वन् स्वसुः प्रियम्। X. LX 23.

[2] दौहित्रायानि रुद्धाय पौत्रीं रुक्म्यददाद्धरेः। ibid., 25. See also *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, V, XXVIII, 6, 8.

[3] See *Ratnāvalī*, p. 3 and also the author's article "Life as depicted in Harṣa's Plays", *JGJRI*, Vol. XIII, parts 1-4.

[4] IV. 26.

[5] *SNS*, III, 165-8.

[6] *HC*, Chap. IV.

[7] II, pp. 93-101.

Forms of Marriage

Of the eight traditional forms of marriage the first four, i.e., *brāhma*, *daiva*, *ārṣa*, and *prājāpatya*, were regarded commendable for the people of all castes.[1] *Gāndharva* and *rākṣasa* were good for the Kṣatriyas alone. *Āsura* and *paiśāca* were unanimously condemned.[2]

Harṣa's *Priyadarśikā* recognises the legality of *gāndharva* marriage.[3] In the *Kādambarī*, when the heroine regrets her inability to tell her parents about her love towards Candrāpīḍa, Patralekhā reminds her that there were many instances of girls who had themselves chosen their lords, otherwise the ordinance of *svayamvara* (self-selection of husband as ordained in the law-books) would have been meaningless.[4] The *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā*[5] records many instances of the love-marriages recognized by the girl's parents.[6] In the other forms of marriage the girl had no voice in selecting

---

[1] The eight forms of marriage are *brāhma*, *daiva*, *ārṣa*, *prājāpatya*, *gāndharva*, *rākṣasa*, *āsura* and *paiśāca*. In the Smṛtis their description is given as below :

In the *Brāhma* form the damsel was offered as a gift to a fit bridegroom, invited by the bride's father himself. If she was given to a *ṛtvij* while he officiated at a sacrifice it was called a *daiva* marriage. If the giver of the bride received a pair of kine from the bridegroom in accordance with the requirements of *dharma* it was called an *ārṣa* marriage. In the *prājāpatya* form, the girl was offered to a suitor on his demand. An union between the two lovers with their mutual consent, but without their parents' interference, was called the *gāndharva-vivāha*. If the damsel was sold to the bridegroom it was called an *āsura* marriage. If the boy seized the bride forcibly and she wept and wailed it was the *rākṣasa* form. The *paiśāca* form was one in which a man seduced a girl in her sleep or while she was unconscious or intoxicated. *Manu S.*, III, vv. 20-21 and 27 to 34; *Yāj. S.*, I, vv. 58-61; *Śaṁkha S.*, IV, vv. 124-6.

[2] *Śaṁkha S.*, Chap. IV, v. 3 (*SS.*. p. 376).

[3] Act. III, p. 66.

[4] *Kādambarī*, p. 413.

[5] pp. 253 ff. (Bombay edition).

[6] In love marriages sectarian differences may not have mattered much. But that the religious teachers wished them to be given consideration, can be seen from the *Samarāiccakahā* where the hero gets converted to Jainism, a religion followed by the girl's father, p. 618.

her husband. It was the parents' duty or rather the father's, to select a good husband for the daughter. "The mothers are," says Rājyaśrī's mother, "nothing more than nurses. In bestowing them the father is the final authority."[1] In some cases the boy's father or the bridegroom himself asked for the hand of the girl and the betrothal took place in the presence of some select people.[2]

Sometimes the girls may have remained unmarried for a long period. In the *Harṣacarita* we have a reference even to a *jaratkumārī*, i.e., an old maiden.[3] In such cases, Medhātithi and other authors of Smṛtis permit the girl to get a match herself.[4] Medhātithi agrees with Manu that a girl should depend upon her parents for her marriage only up to the period of three years after attaining puberty. After that she was free to choose her husband herself.[5]

Marriageable Age

In the aristocratic families the marriage of girls took place on their reaching the age of fifteen or so. Rājyaśrī, Kādambarī and Mahāśvētā were fully grown up before they were married. In the Kṣatriya royal families the prevalence of *svayamvara*, if the testimony of the *Dvāśrayamahākāvya* of Hemacandra and the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* of Jayānaka be regarded as valid for the period of this survey, would show that the girls were mature enough to choose their partners in life. The former mentions a *svayamvara* in which Mahendra of Nāḍol (*c.* A.D. 1000) held the ceremony for his sisters Durlabhadevī and Lakṣmī. The *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* refers to Kalāvatī, the girl given in marriage to the ruler of Kānyakubja, most probably Bhoja (*c.* A.D. 836-888). She seems to have been of marriageable age. Twelve kings probably contested for her hand.[6]

---

[1] *HC*, IV, p. 141. See also the author's article on *Bāṇa*, op. cit.

[2] ibid. Such was the force of custom that sometimes the girl, though very much in love could not give her consent to the marriage because of the absence of someone to give her away. —*BK*, V. 15.

[3] Chap. VII, p. 221.

[4] *Vasiṣṭha S.*, XVII. 59 (*SS*, p. 215); *Vyāsa S.*, II. 6 (*SS*, p. 359).

[5] *On Manu*, IX. 90-91.

[6] *Dvāśrayakāvya*, VII. 66, 73, 74; *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, v. 32; *ECD*, pp. 26, 124.

But if the people in general followed the dictates of the Smṛtis, girls, in the orthodox families of Brāhmaṇas and those who followed their example, were married at a very early age. The pre-puberty marriage was considered as an ideal one by Samvarta, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Śaṁkha and many other Smṛti writers.[1] According to Medhātithi the right time for a girl to be given in marriage was her eighth year.[2] The twelfth year was the latest limit laid down for a girl to remain as a maiden. If she remained unmarried even beyond that, her parents and elder brothers (upon whom lay the sole responsibility of her marriage) were assigned to hell.[3] A Brāhmaṇa, found guilty of marrying a girl after she had attained puberty in her father's house, was not considered fit for conversation and dining in the company of the other members of his caste.[4] Alberuni who saw these things personally remarks that "the Hindus marry at a very young age" and that "a Hindu is not allowed to marry a woman above twelve years of age."[5] Bhavabhūti confirms the popularity of early marriages in his days by representing Sītā as a child, i.e., a *śiśu*, at the time of her marriage[6], even though the *Rāmāyaṇa* contains no such statement.

Dr. Altekar points out certain factors which led to the popularity of early marriages. According to him the upper section of society began to follow the example of the members of lower classes who married their daughters at a very early age because of the greed of bride-price, a custom which was fairly common among them. Secondly, he thinks that the girl's parents were always keen to avail of the earliest opportunity to get a suitable bridegroom in a caste-ridden society where the field of selection had become confined to a few sub-castes. Thirdly, by marrying their daughters at a young age the parents freed themselves from

---

[1] *Samvarta S.*, 66-67, (*SS*, p. 114); *Parāśara S.*, II. 7; *Vyāsa S.*, II. 7 (*SS*, p. 356); *Śaṁkha S.*, XV. 8 (*SS*, p. 388).

[2] *On Manu*, IX. 4.

[3] *Parāśara S.*, XII. 5-6. Medhātithi had declared that girls in her time reached puberty at the age of twelve years. *On Manu*, IX. 92.

[4] *Parāśara S.*, VII. 7.

[5] Sachau, Vol. II, p. 131. See also *YTC*, p. 317 and the *Nītivākyāmṛta*, 31.

[6] *URC*, I. 20.

the worry about their daughter's future. In case the father died and the mother became a *satī*, the girl had her husband and his family to look after her, if she were married. Lastly, Dr. Altekar opines, that as a result of the satisfactory economic condition in the society and the prevalence of joint family system, people did not feel the necessity of postponing the marriage till the boy became an earning member.[1]

There is probably some truth in all these inferences. But a more potent cause was probably the Āryan's desire to increase their population. India was then not the overpopulated country that it is at present and men were needed to fight the Āryan's battles and to work in the fields. Hence they not only encouraged child marriages; but also laid down that a man must approach his wife after her menstrual period. If she did not respond, she could, according to Yama, be brought to market, proclaimed a killer of embryos, and abandoned.[2] Parāśara writing in a similar strain states that such a woman was reborn many times to die as a widow.[3]

Polygamy and Polyandry

Polygamy was quite common specially in rich families in which men had two or even three wives. In view of the Smṛti writers, the number of wives one could legally have varied from caste to caste. In accordance with the rules of *anuloma* marriages, a Brāhmaṇa could have four wives at a time; a Kṣatriya could have three, a Vaiśya could have two and a Śūdra only one.[4] The Brāhmaṇa Haricandra, founder of the Pratihāra line of Maṇḍor, married two wives, one a Brāhmaṇa and the other a Kṣatriya.[5] The Gwalior inscription records the instance of Alla who had five wives, Vavvā, Goggā, Gaurī, Śīllā and Iṣaṭā.[6] In the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, Cārāyaṇa is represented as contracting a second marriage, and the fact may be noted also in case of the hero of the play,

---

[1] *Position of Women in Ancient India*, pp. 59-61.
[2] *Yama* quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 163.
[3] *Parāśara S.*, IV. 14.
[4] *Manu S.*, III. 13.
[5] Ghaṭiyālā Inscription, *EI*, IX, p. 279.
[6] Inscription of the Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin temple at Gwalior, *VS*, 937, vv. 23-24. *EI*, I, p. 156.

Karpūramañjarī. More than one marriage was contracted also when there was either no issue or there were only female issues from the first marriage.

Śukra advised that a man must not live with his two wives in the same house but should allot to each of them a separate apartment.[1] Domestic intrigues and misery were, naturally, the consequences of many such polygamous marriages. When co-wives threatened non-cooperation, reconciliation was achieved through the negotiations of female friends.[2] The works of Vācaspati Miśra also show that men in the ninth century were polygamous, and that co-wives could not see eye to eye.[3] Of polyandry, no historical instance has been recorded, in the literature or inscriptions of our period, but Alberuni referred to its existence among the people of the Indian hills "stretching from the region of Panchir into the neighbourhood of Kashmir[4]", among whom it is still prevalent.[5]

Remarriage of Women

Some Smṛtis allowed women to remarry in exceptional circumstances. Parāśara permitted a woman to have a second husband under one of the five situations, viz., if she does not hear from her first husband for long, or if he dies, or takes to asceticism, or loses his virility or becomes degraded.[6] Vasiṣṭha, declared that a married woman was entitled to remarry, if her husband went abroad and did not return before the end of the waiting term, which according to him varied in case of each of the four castes. "A wife of a Brāhmaṇa caste, who has issue shall wait for five years and one who has no issue, for four years; the wife of a Kṣatriya, who has issue, for five years and one who has no issue for three years; the wife of a Vaiśya caste who has issue, for four years and without issue, for two years; the wife of a Śūdra, who has issue, for three years and who has none, for one year."[7] Medhātithi ordained that during the waiting term

---

[1] *SNS*, III, 191-192.
[2] *SV*, VII. 7-11; VIII. 36-44.
[3] *STK*, p. 31; *Tattvavaiśāradī*, p. 101. See also *Kād.*, p. 352.
[4] Sachau, I, p. 108.
[5] *ERE*, VIII, p. 453.
[6] IV. 40. See also *AP*, CLIV. 5 and *SNS*, III. 21.
[7] XVII. 67-71.

of her husband's return the wife should depend upon unobjectionable industries such as spinning, lace-making, etc.; but after the expiry of the waiting period she might pursue even objectionable occupations like the making of fans and such things.[1] The latter alternative was obviously to be followed only if the former was not available. Kalhaṇa mentions a Brāhmaṇa's wife, who during the absence of her husband, first maintained herself with the property left behind by her husband and then by working as a maid-servant in others' houses.[2]

Child-widows were permitted to remarry by some law-givers such as Vasiṣṭha, Baudhāyana and Laghuśatātapa.[3] But later this too was prohibited. From the mention of the words like *bālaraṇḍās* and *bālavidhavās*[4], in the literature of the tenth century A.D., it is almost certain that even a child-widow kept the vow of celibacy for the rest of her long life.

Life of A Widow

Higher castes did not, generally, allow widow marriage.[5] Widows of noble Kṣatriya families often burnt themselves along with the dead bodies of their husbands. Of widows who survived, some

---

[1] *On Manu*, IX. 75.

[2] *RT*, V. 21.

[3] *Vasiṣṭha S.*, XVII. 66 (*SS*, p. 215); *Baudhāyana S.*, IV. I. v. 718 (*SS*, p. 477) *Laghuśatātapa S.*, 44.

[4] *UBPK*, p. 896 (Jacobi's ed.); *Karpūramañjarī*, III, p. 75.

[5] Manu, for instance, laid down the duties of a widow thus :

"At her pleasure let her emaciate her body by (living on) pure flowers, roots and fruits; but she must never mention the name of another man after her husband had died. Until death let her be patient, self-controlled; and chaste and strive (to fulfil) that most excellent duty which is presented for wives who have one husband only. Many thousands of Brāhmaṇas who were chaste from their youth have gone to heaven without continuing their race. A virtuous woman who after the death of her husband constantly remains chaste, reaches heaven, even though she has no son, just like those chaste men. But a woman who from a desire to have offspring violates her duty towards her (deceased) husband, brings on herself disgrace in the world and loses her place with her husband in heaven. Offspring begotten by another man is here not (considered lawful) nor does offspring begotten on another's wife, (belonging to the begetter) nor is a second husband anywhere prescribed for a virtuous woman."—*MS*, V. 157-162.

turned into nuns. Others remained in their houses wearing white clothes, discarding all ornaments and embellishments and performing fasts and austerities.[1] Bāṇa speaks of widows as keeping one braid of hair.[2] Some widows were cared for by their sons and relations. Others had to work for their own living. As now, and also in the time of Kauṭilya, they had probably to earn their living by spinning, weaving and taking to domestic duties.[3] A woman was no heir to the property left by her husband but she could retain the ornaments worn by her during her husband's life-time.[4]

Niyoga

Along with the widow marriage the custom of *niyoga* or levirate, which was restricted to the sonless widows[5], went out of vogue. *Niyoga* or *devarātasutotpatti* (birth of a son from the husband's brother) is one of the five principal prohibitions of the *kali*-age.[6] Bhaṭṭa Kumārila regards it as an illegal practice.[7] Medhātithi's statement that the custom of *niyoga*, though permitted by Smṛtis, is not to be practised on account of its being regarded as blameworthy by people, proves that popular opinion was against this practice.[8] He condemned the practice even on the śāstric basis arguing that the act of the brother-in-law having intercourse with his widowed

---

[1] *HC*, V, p. 171; *Kād.*, p. 42.

[2] ibid.

[3] Medhātithi said that spinning, lace-making, fan-making, etc. were the means of subsistence for widows, depending on their own labour. *vide*, f. n., 1-2 on p. 18.

[4] *Medhātithi on Manu*, VIII. 28.

[5] *MS*, IX. 59.

[6] The *Bṛhaspati S.* and the *SNS* say that the people of the Khasa country married the widow of their brothers. But, according to the latter, it was an absolutely local and tribal custom, despised in other parts and by other races.

[7] Replying to the objection that

कृष्णद्वैपायनस्य गृहीतनैष्ठिक ब्रह्मचर्यस्य विचित्रवीर्यदारेष्वपत्योत्पादन-प्रसङ्गः Kumārila Bhaṭṭa says that द्वैपायनस्यापि गुरुनियोगदपतिरपत्यलिप्सुर्देवराद्गुरुप्रेरितादृतुमतीयात् इत्येविमागमान्मातृसंबन्धभ्रातृजायापुत्रजननं प्राक्कृतपश्चात्करिष्यमाणतपोबलेन नातिदुष्करम् । अन्योऽपि यस्तादृकतपोबलो निर्वहेत्स कुर्यादेव । *TV* quoted in *HDS*, II, pt. I, p. 603.

[8] *On Manu*, IV. 176.

sister-in-law was a regular marriage, because marriage in the injunction of marriage stood for intercourse; and as widows were not entitled to remarry, the practice of *niyoga* was also void.[1] Alberuni plainly states that *niyoga* had gone out of use in his days.[2]

Sati System

The same increasing extra regard for chastity which was responsible for the prohibition of *niyoga* and widow marriage led to the growing popularity of *satī* during the period, even though there were many thinkers who realised the absurdity of the custom. Smṛti writers of the age stated that a woman dying on the funeral pyre of her husband would enjoy eternal bliss in heaven.[3] Aṅgirasa even urged that self-immolation was the only meritorious course that a virtuous widow could follow.[4] It was also believed that *satī* was a sure means of the reunion of the wife with her husband after death.

Two contradictory views seem to have prevailed about *satī* in Bāṇa's time, and curiously enough both of these are voiced by Bāṇa. The orthodox view finds expression in the *Harṣacarita*. A little before the death of Harṣa's father Prabhākaravardhana's queen Yaśomatī decided to burn herself. She had no desire to live as a widow even for a second. Harṣa first tried to dissuade her, but finding her reasoning unanswerable allowed her to be a *satī*, thinking that the course that she thought of following was the one that every lady of a high family should adopt.[5] The reasoning adopted by her was that she was the lady of a great house, born of a stainless ancestry, and was one whose virtue was her only dower. As she was the daughter, spouse and mother of heroes, how could she act otherwise.[6] Rājyaśrī had also expressed a similar feeling by saying, "A husband or a son is a woman's true support; but to those who are deprived of both, it is immodesty even to continue to live, as mere fuel for the fire of misery."[7]

---

1 *On Manu*, IX. 64-65.
2 *Sachau*, I, 107.
3 *Dakṣa S.*, IV. 18-19, (*SS*, p. 30).
4 Aparārka's commentary on *Yāj.* I. 87.
5 *HC*, V, p. 168.
6 ibid., p. 167.
7 *HC*, VIII, p. 253.

The view against the system is set forth convincingly in the *Kādambarī*. About twelve hundred years before Lord William Bentinck, Bāṇa had the courage to put the following words in the mouth of his hero Candrāpīḍa[1]:

"It is absolutely useless to die on the death of one. It is a procedure followed by the ignorant. It is due to want of proper understanding of the matter. It is doing something without proper consideration. To sacrifice one's life on the death of one's father, brother or friend, is taking a narrow view of the matter; it is sheer insanity, it is due to folly. If breath does not leave the body by itself attempt should not be made to force it do so. If this matter be properly thought over, this giving up of life is merely a selfish act because it serves as a remedy against the unbearable pangs of grief suffered by oneself. It does no good to the dead. It is not a means of leading him to better regions. It does not save him from condemnation to hell. Nor is it a means of reunion with him. No longer a master of himself, he is carried to quite a different place perhaps by the maturing of *karma*. And the person dying after one incurs merely the sin of suicide. He who continues to live however, benefits himself as well as the dead by offering libations of water, etc. but neither of the two is benefited by one's dying."

Perhaps no Hindu reformer could have said more than this on the subject. Buddhists were against the *satī* system.[2] Is it not likely that Bāṇa is expressing the ideas of a converted Harṣa revolted by his sister's attempt to sacrifice her life?

Medhātithi was also against the *satī* system. His hostile attitude towards *satī* is expressed in his comments on Aṅgirasa's statement. He remarked that just as an act of suicide was prohibited in case of men, so it was in the case of women; and Aṅgirasa's injunction regarding *satī* could therefore be regarded as nothing better than condoning the sin of committing suicide. He adds further that just as it is sinful to kill a human being for a *śyena* sacrifice, even though we have vedic authority to do so, so also is the custom of *satī* sinful even though it is permitted by

---

[1] *Kād.*, pp. 318-19. See also the author's article on "Bāṇa's Works", op. cit.

[2] Divākaramitra's advice to Rājyaśrī, *HC*, Chap. VII.

some. Aṅgirasa's statement, in his view, had perhaps some other meaning, because it could not possibly go against the vedic injunction that "one should not die before the span of life is run out[1]".

A life of austerity was the option allowed to widows by many writers. Parāśara, for instance, says that a widow who observes the vow of celibacy goes to heaven after death like the *brahmacārins*.[2] Śukra expected a chaste widow either to accompany her husband, i.e., to be a *satī*, or to observe the vow of chastity.[3]

Up to the eighth century A.D., *satī* was rather confined to the royal families. In the *Priyadarśikā* we read of the wives of Vindhyaketu burning themselves after their husband's death in a battle.[4] Harṣa's mother burnt herself a little before the death of her husband.[5] His sister was dissuaded with difficulty from being a *satī*.[6] Of the inscriptions falling wholly within the period the Dholpur inscription of the Cāhamāna Caṇḍamahāsena speaks of his mother Kaṇhullā who became a *satī*.[7] The Ghaṭiyālā inscription of Rāṇuka (v.s. 947) speaks of the *satī* Sāmvaladevī.[8] By the time Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa wrote his *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, *anumaraṇa* had come to be regarded as *kṣātradharma*.[9] Draupadī is represented in the play as getting ready to burn herself after hearing the news of the death of Bhīma, even though her four other husbands were still alive.[10]

How far *satī* prevailed among Brāhmaṇas is difficult to say because most of the references, inscriptional as well as literary, refer to the custom only in the case of Kṣatriya women. According to the *Vyāsa Smṛti* a Brāhmaṇa widow had two courses to follow,

---

[1] *On Manu*, V. 156.
[2] Chap. IV, v. 31.
[3] English translation of *Śukranītî* by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, p. 163.
[4] Act I, p. 96. See also the author's paper on Harṣa's plays in *JGJRI*, op. cit.
[5] *HC*, V, p. 167.
[6] *HC*, VIII, p. 248.
[7] *ZDMG*, XL, p. 39.
[8] Bhandarkar's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, N. 107.
[9] Act VI, p. 183.
[10] ibid.

either to be a *satī* or take to asceticism after her tonsure.[1] But the *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa* of the *Padma Purāṇa* expressly prohibits *satī* to them.[2] Altekar[3] believes that the custom began to be followed by a few Brāhmaṇa families soon after A.D. 1000.[4]

The actual state of *satī* in the latter part of the period is probably best narrated by Alberuni. He says that it was left to the free will of a widow to choose either to live or to die. They generally preferred to live if they could have some valid excuse like child in the womb or the minority of a prince and the need for taking care of him.[5] Sugandhā, the queen of Śaṅkaravarmana of Kashmir, did not burn herself along with Surendravatī and other royal ladies. She remained alive to act as a regent to her minor son Gopālavarmana. Diddā, another queen regent of Kashmir, also carried on the administration of the State by remaining alive after the death of her husband in A.D. 972.[6]

---

[1] II. 53 (*SS*, p. 362).
[2] *PWAI*, p. 151.
[3] ibid., p. 129.

[4] Nor was the custom of following one's death confined merely to women. Friends of the dead or his relatives also gave up their lives. When Prabhākaravardhana died many of his favourite servants, friends and ministers plunged like moths in the flames. (*HC*, p. 172). *Nāgānanda* tells us something more. The parents of Nāgānanda got ready to mount the pyre when they heard of Nāgānanda's death. Similar instances may be quoted from the *Mālatīmādhava* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Abu Zaid, the Arab traveller, also writes that "in the states of Balhara and in other provinces of India, one may see men burn themselves on a pile. This arises from the faith of Indians in the matter psychosis, a faith which is rooted in their hearts and about which they have not the slightest doubts." He further adds, "some of the kings of India, when they ascend the throne have a quantity of rice cooked and served on banana leaves. Attached to this person are three or four hundred companions, who have joined him on their own free will without compulsion. When the king has taken some of the rice, he gives it to his companions. Each in his turn approaches, takes a small quantity and eats it. All those who eat the rice are obliged, when the king dies or is slain, to burn themselves to the last man on the very day of the king's decease. This is the duty which admits no delay and not a vestige of these men ought to be left." —*ED*, I, p. 9.

[5] Sachau, II, p. 155. See also *DKC*, p. 9.
[6] *RT*, V. 226-7; VI. 197.

Purda

In certain sections of society, specially royalty, the observance of *purdā* seems to have been fairly strict. The words *avarodhikā* and, *avarodhavadhū*, employed in our literature connote that women were not allowed any social freedom. *Antaḥpura* was the proper place for their living. If the servants were detected seeing the faces of the queens, they feared punishment.[1] Ladies of high families used a piece of cloth to veil their faces, some going even so far as to see the face of none but their husband's.[2] Bāṇa thought that *mukhāvaraṇam* was worthy of the conduct of noble women.[3] Vācaspati Miśra speaks of a *kulavadhū* as invisible even to the sun.[4] In the royal harem, the only attendants allowed to enter were the hunchbacked, the dwarfs and old decrepit chamberlains.[5] Śukra does not allow a young man to be appointed in the inner apartment even if he be a friend.[6] In the *Mahāvīracarita* of Bhavabhūti, Rāma, finding that Paraśurāma was coming to see him says to Sītā, "Dear one, he is our superior, therefore turn aside and veil yourself."[7]

But *purdā* as we find it to-day was not known. Queens and princesses could be seen in the courts. Yuan Chwang states that Harṣa's sister attended his court, without any veil. The strictness of *purdā* was generally relaxed on festive occasions. Every one was allowed on the occasion of Harṣa's birth to enter the inner apartments of the palace, without any consideration of his being a servant or a master, old or young, and so on.[8] On other festive occasions such as *Madanotsava*, etc. both men and women partook in the celebration.[9] Kalhaṇa's account of the society in Kashmir shows that *purdā* did not prevail there. In the ninth century Abu Zaid remarked that "most of the princes of India when they hold a court allow their women to be seen by the men who attend it, whether they be relatives or foreigners. No veil

---

[1] *SV*, XII. 20; V. 7, 17.
[2] *Kād.*, pp. 166 and 302.
[3] *HC*, III, p. 98.
[4] *STK*, p. 73.
[5] *Kād.*, p. 147; *Priyadarśikā*, IV, p. 78.
[6] *SNS*, III, vv. 282-3.
[7] Act II, p. 71.
[8] *HC*, IV, p. 129.
[9] *infra*, Chap. VIII.

conceals them from the eyes of visitors[1]". Aparārka in his commentary on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* quoting from *Śaṁkha Smṛti*, states that women could speak with merchants and doctors and could transact necessary business but were not allowed to speak with an unknown person.[2] The unmarried girls were perhaps not expected to observe any *purdā*.[3] Nor was there any such thing among the women who might be dubbed as plebeians. They freely mixed, sat, played and drank with men[4]; and from all the evidences we have, it appears that *purdā* before the Muslim rule in India could have been only partial.

But even in a society where *purdā* was not so strict women's social freedom was restricted in many ways. As a daughter, in her father's house, she was brought up under the strict control and supervision of her father. He trained her as he wished and found a husband for her without consulting her wish and preference.[5] After her marriage she remained under the tutelage of her husband and if per chance she became a widow she had to be under the protection of her sons. Śukra does not regard women as entitled even to a moment's freedom.[6] His account of the daily routine of an ideal wife makes one conclude that her activities were strictly confined to her home and domestic affairs. Rising before others, early in the morning, she was to clean the house, scrub domestic utensils for the sacred fire, prepare food and feed her husband and his relatives and show respect towards the elderly people of the family.[7]

The Feminine Ideal

Indian women of the period possessed a high standard of mora-

---

[1] *ED*, I, p. 11

[2] न परपुरुषामभिभाषत् अन्यत्र वणिक्प्रव्रजितवैद्येभ्य : (*Saṁkha S.* in Aparārka on *Yāj.*, I. 83).

[3] The king in the play *Priyadarśikā* remarks that निर्दोष दर्शने कन्यका (p. 30).

[4] In the *Ratnāvalī*, Vidūṣaka is shown as dancing with Madanikā and Cūtalatikā, the queen's maid-servants : Act I, p. 14. In the *Nāgānanda* the Viṭa offers to Vidūṣaka the cup of wine drunk by the former's wife : Act II, p. 109.

[5] In the play *MM*, Kāmandakī remarks that "प्रभवति प्राय: कुमारिणां जनयिता दैवं च" (Act II, p. 69)

[6] *SNS*, III. 19.

[7] *SNS*, IV, vv. 345-56; *Vyāsa S.*, II, vv. 19-25.

lity. They were well known for safeguarding their honour and character.[1] To them moral virtue was the best dower.[2] An ideal lady of this period was *śīlavatī*, *abhujaṅgagamyā* and *parapuruṣā-darśanavratinī*.[3] Daṇḍin, the author of the *Daśakumāracarita*, though giving enough instances of conjugal infidelity, cannot help laying stress on chastity and obedience to her husband as the ideal of a Hindu woman.[4] A noble maiden according to Bhavabhūti had her heart attached only to one man and did not cast her eyes of love at others.[5] Dāmodaragupta, characterized a *kulāṅganā* (a lady of noble family) as one who felt happy in her husband's happiness, grieved in his miseries and looked like her husband's reflection with only one exception that she was not annoyed with him whenever he was indignant towards her.[6]

An ideal lady was Yaśomatī. She is described by Bāṇa as :— (i) *cakravākamayīva patipremṇī*, (ii) *madirāmayīva vilāseṣu*, (iii) *vṛṣtimayīva bhṛtyeṣu*, (iv) *vetasamayīva guruṣu*, (v) *prāṇānām praṇayasya visrambhasya dharmasya sukhasya ca bhūmi* and possessing many other qualities.[7] Icchādevī, the wife of king Dharmapāla's minister Garga was like a replica of her husband's inner will, pure and tender by nature and beautiful like moon. Rallādevī, the wife of king Devāpala's minister Someśvara was a compatible match

---

[1] *HC*, IV, p. 134.

[2] ibid., II, p. 167.

[3] *Śilavatī*—noble-minded (*HC*, III. 98); *abhujaṅgagamyā*—unattainable by paramours (ibid.), *parapuruṣādarśanavratinī*—one who takes the vow to see the face of none but her own husband (*Kād.*, p. 166). See also footnote no. 4 on p. 24.

[4] Daṇḍin's following remarks are worth mentioning :

अम्ब किं ब्रवीमि। दौर्भाग्यं नाम जीवन्मरणमिवाङ्गनानां, विशेषतश्च कुलवधूनाम् (p. 164).

भगवति पतिरेव दैवतं वनितानाम्, विशेषतः कुलजानाम् (p. 165).

[5] *MM*, Act I, p. 42.

[6] *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, 440.

[7] (i) In love for her husband a ruddy goose; (ii) Possessed of those *vilāsas* which wine imparts to those that have tasted it; (iii) Like a shower (of favours) on her servants; (iv) Towards her elders she was a वेतस i.e., humble; (v) The centre of the life of the king who confined all things to her and was the source of the righteousness and happiness.—*HC*, III, pp. 122-3.

for her spouse as Pārvatī was for Lord Śiva and Lakṣmī for Lord Viṣṇu.[1]

Courtesans

Courtesans have formed a recognised section of Indian society from very early times. They were found in the vedic period.[2] In the *Daśakumāracarita*, Daṇḍin has given an elaborate account of the *vēśyās*.[3] Dāmodaragupta of Kashmir wrote a book entitled the *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, which dealt exclusively with the various ways and means adopted by the *gaṇikās* to extract money from kings, nobles, and other wealthy people.[4] *Kṣemendra* (11th cen.) similarly gave a very good account of them in his *Samayamātṛkā*, *Kalāvilāsa* and *Cārucaryā*.[5] In fact there is no important *kāvya* in which there is no reference to the *gaṇikās*.

No court of India was without them. Prostitutes surrounded Harṣa when Bāṇa first saw him.[6] Women who acted as his *chowri*-bearers, were probably prostitutes. When the king of Mālwā was defeated by Rājyavardhana, the booty that fell into the hands of the conqueror included courtesans, which means that they accompanied the king in his wars and battles.[7] And that this was a fact we may gather also from the description of the *Śiśupālavadha* in which we find prostitutes not merely described as accompanying the army but also as preparing themselves to receive visitors.[8]

The custom of dedicating dancing girls to the temples may have added to the popularity of the institution. Kālidāsa refers

---

[1] Bādal Pillar Ins. of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, vv. 3, 10—*EI*, II, p. 160.

[2] *HDS*, II, part I, p. 637.

[3] *DKC*, II, pp. 66-68.

[4] Published in *KMS*, Vol. III, and by Tanasukharama and Mansukhrama Tripathi with the commentary *Rasadīpikā*, Bombay, 1924.

[5] *Samayamātṛkā* is published in *KMS*, Vol. X, *Kalāvilāsa* in *KMS*, Vol. I and *Cārucaryā*, in *KMS*, Vol. II.

[6] *HC*, II, p. 75. See also *Kād.*, p. 172.

[7] *HC*, VII, p. 227.

[8] *SV*, V. 27. Māgha, the author of the *Śiśupālavadha*, flourished in the 7th cen. most probably in the court at Bhīlmāl, so he might be regarded as a contemporary source on this point. The fact may also be gleaned from Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*. He writes that "व्यवस्थाप्यमानवेश्यासन्निवेशम्. . . . सेनानिवेशमपश्यम्".

to the dancing girls in the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjainī.[1] In the Vasantagarh inscription of Varmalāṭa dated A.D. 624, we hear of a courtesan Būṭā who was attached to the temple of Śrī-Mātā.[2] Yuan Chwang speaks of girls dedicated to the Sun god at Multan.[3] I-tsing refers to the girls whose dancing delighted the Buddhist deities.[4] In the temple of Somanātha in Saurāṣṭra, 500 danseuse were ever ready to please the deity by dancing before him.[5] Kalhaṇa refers to the custom in Kashmir from the 8th century onwards.[6] In the temple of Viśvanātha in Vārāṇasī even learned Brāhmaṇas fell a prey to their wiles, if we are to believe Dāmodaragupta.[7]

Gaṇikās are represented as full of many vices such as falseness, deceit, instability and impetuousness.[8] They are criticised as heartless women who lacked affection and yielded their bodies to people irrespective of their age, caste and virility.[9] To gain money was their sole object in life; and their chief assistants in the task were old procuresses (i.e., the *kuṭṭanīs*), generally women who in the early part of their lives had not unoften been *gaṇikās* themselves.[10] After draining their paramours dry, they turned them out of doors.[11] In the tenth century, the author of the *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā* criticised and condemned both the *gaṇikās* and their paramours.[12]

---

[1] *Meghadūta*, I. 36.
[2] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 191.
[3] Watter, Vol. II, p. 254.
[4] Takakusu, p. 147.
[5] Sachau, Vol. I, p. 116.
[6] *RT*, IV, v. 36.
[7] vv. 743-55. But the connection with them could be far from creditable for the Brāhmaṇas and we find a Brāhmaṇa youth being rebuked, by his father, for his addiction to the company of *Veśyas* : vv. 414-23.
[8] *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, 473, 487; *Samayamātṛkā*, 468.
[9] *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, 92, 310.
[10] Dāmodaragupta names his *kāvya Kuṭṭanīmatam* because the old procuress (*kuṭṭanī*) in it teaches a young *veśyā* the various ways of extracting money from the rich people.
[11] *Daśarūpakam* of Dhanañjaya, II. 27; *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, 318. In the Vth *samaya* of the *Samayamātṛkā* Kṣemendra has also described the 23 ways through which a man having no money could be got rid of by a prostitute.
[12] pp. 622-628.

Alberuni shows that harlotry was encouraged in the country by the rulers for their own selfish ends. "The kings," he remarks, "make them an attraction for their cities, a bait of pleasure for their subjects; for no other but fanciful reasons. By the revenues which they derive from the business both as fines and taxes, they want to recover the expenses which their treasury has to spend on the army."[1]

Other causes of its popularity can be easily summarised. The institution though condemned by moralists, finds a place in most societies. In India there may have been special reasons too. With the advent of early marriages, and in many cases also of the *purdā*, Indian women in general did not attain the cultural level of their husbands. It was mostly the daughters of kings and *mahattaras* who had any sort of education. The *veśyā*, learned in all the arts, got a seat in the *janasaṁsada* and honour from the talented and the rulers.[2] Her position thus was similar to that of the hetaera in ancient Greece. They were the chief attraction of Indian cities and courts.[3] Dhanapāla, the author of the *Tilakamañjarī*, includes them in the description of the Ayodhyā city.[4] If one king could grace his court and capital with a team of courtesans, the other too felt induced to imitate him whatever his own views might have been about the matter.

Education

In spite of their confinement within the four walls of the house, women were not without education. All the literary evidences that we have tend to prove that in urban areas they were trained in fine arts. Singing, dancing and playing on musical instruments were subjects befitting a noble damsel.[5] Kādambarī and Mahāśvetā had this training.[6] In the *Priyadarśikā*, the queen's maid-servant Aṅgārikā has been highly praised for her acquaintance

---

[1] Sachau, II, p. 157.

[2] Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, I. 3.

[3] Amaracanda the author of the *Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti* lays it down as a general rule that the description of a city should among other things describe a *veśyā* and *itvarī*, most probably because the institution was one of its common features (p. 25, verse 64).

[4] *TM*, p. 8. In Subandhu's prose romance *Vāsavadattā*, Kusumapura is also described as वेश्याजनेनाधिष्ठितम् (p. 53).

[5] *Priyadarśikā*, p. 16.

[6] *HC*, Chap. IV, p. 140; *Kād.*, p. 324.

with the musical minutiae like the different modes of playing in the ten forms, the threefold timings of quick, intermediate and slow and the threefold modes of *tattva*, *ojha* and *anugata*.[1] In the *Ratnāvalī*, Sāgarikā is represented as entering the plantain bower with a brush and a drawing board in her hand to draw the picture of her lover.[2] Other similar instances can be quoted from other Sanskrit works, the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti, the *Viddha-śālabhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara and the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla.[3]

Some girls received religious and literary education. In the *Kādambarī* Bāṇa speaks of Mahāśvetā as performing the *sandhyā* daily and muttering the *Aghamarṣaṇa mantra*.[4] In the *Tilaka-mañjarī* we find Malayasundarī represented not only as an expert dancer but also as a well-read girl, and the heroine Tilakamañjarī practically knows everything that a princess or a girl of an aristo-cratic family was expected to know.[5] *Parivrājikās* or female ascetics were generally well-educated. Going into the harem they told ancient tales, read out histories, imparted religious instructions and narrated sacred tales.[6] In the *Priyadarśikā*, a *parivrājikā* named Sāṅkṛtyāyanī has been represented as the author of a play dealing with the life of Udayana and Vāsavadattā.[7] The *Uttararāmacarita* of Bhavabhūti speaks of a female student Ātreyī who first studied the Vedas in the hermitage of Vālmīki and later on went to the Daṇḍakāraṇya to continue her studies of Vedānta in the hermitage of Agastya and other sages.[8] In his play *Mālatīmādhava*, Bhava-bhūti introduces to us the Buddhist nun Kāmandakī to whose *āśrama* people flocked from all parts of the country to receive literary and philosophical learning.[9] In the *Dhūrtākhyāna*, a female character, *Khaṇḍapāṇa* by name, is mentioned as the writer of a treatise on *Arthaśāstra* and is depicted as having attained mastery over all popular scriptures like the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. She outwitted all her male competitors who had to

---

[1] Act II, p. 62.
[2] Act II, p. 32.
[3] *MM*, Act I, p. 17; *VSB*, Act I; *TM*, p. 138.
[4] *Kād.*, p. 327.
[5] pp. 137, 215.
[6] *Kād.*, p. 181.
[7] Act III, p. 401.
[8] *URC*, II. 3.
[9] *MM*, I, p. 13.

confess that women are by birth wiser than men.[1] Yākini Mahattara, a Jaina woman, was accepted as his spiritual mother by the great Jaina scholar and writer Haribhadra Sūri.[2] Siddharṣi Sūri, another Jaina philosopher and disciple of Haribhadra, writes that Guṇasādhvī who wrote the first copy of his treatise *Upamitibhavaprapañcā* was the goddess of learning (Sarasvatī) incarnate.[3] In the philosophical discussion between Maṇḍanamiśra and Śaṅkarācārya, the former's wife is said to have been appointed as the sole judge. All these evidences go to prove that in the age under survey, some women must have attained proficiency also in the science of philosophy.

If the dramas be the replicas of actual life, *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and *Karpūramañjarī* are good evidences of literary education received by women. The heroines, in these plays, are represented as compiling poems and writing letters to their lovers.[4] In the royal harem the women who could recite *subhāṣitas* or witty sayings were appointed as queen's attendants.[5]

And this literary evidence is corroborated in important details by historical instances. Rājyaśrī who was distinguished for the knowledge of the Sammatīya school of Buddhists, attended the General Council of Harṣa where scholars debated subtle questions of philosophy.[6] Rājaśekhara who testified that women were also quite competent to become poets like men without any distinction of sex[7], had heard of and seen the daughters of kings and nobles, courtesans, and wives of jesters, who were well versed in different sciences and were poetesses.[8] Of women poets he men-

---

[1] pp. 24 and 31. Edited by A.N. Upadhyaya, *SJGM*, Vol. XV, Bombay.

[2] Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 480.

[3] v. 1018, p. 776 (Bombay edition).

[4] *Karpūramañjarī*, III. 34; II. 9; *Viddhasālabhañjikā*, Act I, p. 68; Act III, p. 166.

[5] *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 79.

[6] Beal, *Life of Yuan Chwang*, p. 176.

[7] *KM*, p. 53. Śrī Somadeva Sūri who lived in the Rāṣṭrakūṭas' court also declared that discrimination between men and women was justified only in physical respect but in the intellectual sphere women were definitely superior to men (*YTC*, I. 46).

[8] *KM*, p. 53.

tions the names of Śīlābhaṭṭārikā, Vikaṭanitambā, Vijayaṅkā, Prabhudevī and Subhadrā[1]. Rājaśekhara's wife Avantisundarī had her husband's dramas staged and witnessed them.[2] She is believed to have composed also a book on rhetorics, because some of her opinions are quoted by Rājaśekhara himself in the *Kāvyamīmāṅsā*.[3]

The accounts of courtesans' education shed light on their favourite subjects of study. Generally, they were expected to be adept in the sixty-four *kalās*.[4] They studied thoroughly various books on *kāmaśāstra* by Vātsyāyana, Dattakācārya, Madanodaya, Viṭaputra and Rājaputra and added to their intellectual qualifications by studying dramaturgy, poetics, music and dancing from the books of Bharata, Viśakhila and Dantila.[5]

Military and Political Capacity

In the seventh century Yuan Chwang mentions two *strīrājyas* (women's kingdoms), the one in the East and the other in the West. The former one which was known as "Eastern Women's Country" was so called because it was ruled "by a succession of women."[6] The other named the "West Women's Country" is mentioned also by Varāhamihira. Each of its valleys had its own government, and the principality as a whole was subject to Persia.[7] In the eighth century Rānī Bāī, the sister of Dāhir, vigorously fought against the Arab General Muhammed-ibn Qāsim, at the head of her soldiers, after the death of her husband in the battle and burnt herself to death when she saw no chance

---

[1] Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvāli*, p. 47, vv. 91-95. Of the poetesses mentioned by Rājaśekhara, Śīlābhaṭṭārikā is identified with a queen of king Bhoja I of Kannauj. Vikaṭanitambā is placed in the first half of the 8th century and on the basis of a tradition recorded in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja she is identified with Vikaṭanitambā, the queen of the Parmāra king of Mālwā. Vijayaṅkā, was a Kannada poetess. Nothing is known about Prabhudevī and Subhadrā except that the former belonged to Gujarat and that a stanza of the latter is quoted in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali* (15th cen)—*GWOI*, pp. 293-4.

[2] *Karpūramañjarī*, I, p. 11.

[3] pp. 20, 46 and 59.

[4] See Appendix I.

[5] *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, vv. 123-25.

[6] Watters, I, p. 330.

[7] ibid, II, p. 257.

of success.[1] In the last quarter of the tenth century in Kashmir, Diddā, the widow of Kṣemavarman rose to prominence even in the midst of an atmosphere of conspiracy against her. By dint of her statesmanship she succeeded in suppressing the rising of all her opponents and in averting all crisis threatening her royal power.[2]

From classical sources we learn that Candragupta Maurya had a guard of women.[3] In the Sāgaratala inscription there is a reference to women trained in arms.[4] In the *Karpūramañjarī* we find the queen's attendants bearing swords, shields, bows, arrows, lances and staffs.[5]

General Attitude towards Women

It is no doubt true that misogynists in India as elsewhere tried to disparage women. In the *Śṛṅgāraśataka* of Bhartṛhari women are condemned as an obstacle in one's way to reach the door of Heaven.[6] In another verse the poet says that if the ocean of the worldly existence is to be crossed over women are to be abandoned from afar.[7] In the monastery of Nālandā even the great teacher Rāhulamitra, fearing that he might any moment fall a prey to the senses, refused to see the face of any woman excepting his mother and sister.[8] The Buddhists represented women as the destruction of all destructions in this world and the next.[9] The Jainakathā, *Upamitibhavaprapañcā* is also full of many cynical remarks against women.[10] But the following remark of Somadeva Sūri perhaps beats them all. "Women," he says "when heard of, deprive one of the faculty of hearing; looked at, they deprive one of the power

---

[1] *Cacnāmāha*, Vol. I, p. 153-4,
[2] *RT*, VI, vv. 332 ff.
[3] *Age of the Nandas and the Mauryas*, p. 176. See also *AS*, I.20-21.
[4] *EI*, I, p. 159.
[5] Act IV, pp. 97-99.
[6] v. 45.
[7] v. 49.
[8] Takakusu, p. 64.
[9] *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Eng. Translation, p. 77.
[10] चलचित्ताः प्रकृत्यैव कुलजा अपियोषितः ....
कुलीना अपि भो नार्याः सर्वमायाकरण्डिकाः ॥ pp. 622-3.

of seeing; remembered, they captivate the mind; and embraced, they disable the minds. When in love, they take away one's life; and when separated they take away one's joy."[1]

But all this unbalanced criticism of women is inspired by the desire of monks and the religieux to divert man's mind from all worldly attachments.[2] Nothing, they felt, binds people to the world to the same extent as a woman. People less obsessed with such ideas took a sympathetic view of women. Varāhamihira defended women against their critics by saying that those who overlooked the virtues of women and traduced them were wicked and cynical. Women were superior to men in respect of many virtues, especially their faithfulness towards their husbands. He says: "How impudent are the immoral fellows, that slander blameless women. They are like the thieves actually found stealing yet crying 'thief, thief'." He ultimately praises them in these words: "Nowhere has the creator designed any gem other than women for this gem gives delight to men, when heard of, seen, touched, or even remembered; for its sake are done righteous deeds and wealth accumulated; from that do men derive worldly pleasures and offsprings. Such damsels are the goddesses of fortune. Hence they should always be honoured at home with respect and wealth."[3] In the Tāntric school a woman was considered the embodiment of the supreme Śakti pervading the whole universe. She might not only receive *mantras* but also initiate people as a *guru*.

Women had certain difficulties, too. Polygamy was an evil in itself. A woman could be repudiated or superseded if she was either barren or her child did not survive or she gave birth only to daughters.[4] In some cases even the beating of an erring wife or a verbal chastisement was permitted.[5] But at the same time there was recognition of the fact that a woman is an ornament of the household. She was the queen there, the mistress of her home and the friend, partner and adviser of her husband.[6]

---

[1] *YTC*, I. 73.
[2] *BS*, Chap. LXXIV, v. 5.
[3] *BS*, Strīpraśaṁsādhyāya, Chap. 74, vv. 4-6 and 15.
[4] *Medhātithi on Manu*, IX. 81.
[5] ibid.
[6] Sachau, Vol. I, p. 181. In the Nālandā Copperplate inscription of Devapāla, his mother Raṇṇādevī is honoured as an

According to Dakṣa, an obedient wife was the sole object of a household because it was only through her assistance that a household could enjoy the fruits of *trivarga*.[1] In the play *Mudrārākṣasa* the stage-manager addresses his wife as a noble lady, adept in policy, full of resources, securing stability and gaining the three ends.[2] In the play *Uttararāmacarita*, Bhavabhūti states that the virtues are to be always worshipped irrespective of sex or age.[3] The author of the *Kuṭṭanīmata* says that a wife born of a noble family is to a wise man a source of reaping the good fruits of life both here and hereafter.[4] In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* she is described as the original source of *gṛhastha* and happiness and one must desire a wife to have the benefits of *dharma* and to procure children. How can a man devoid of a wife be free of the three debts. As a wife she was also believed as an embodiment of prosperity, and it was man's duty to provide her with clothes, ornaments and other necessities of life.[5] The perfect conjugal amity and understanding between the two were regarded as the basis of a happy family life[6] and so a wise husband was always advised to win the confidence of his wife.[7] As a mother she occupied a position higher than that of the father because while father could be abandoned under circumstances, a mother had to be maintained at all times, whatever her defects might be.[8] There are patricides in Indian History, but matricides we have exceptionally few.

---

incarnation of the goddess of Fortune, the Earth-goddess in a visible form, an embodiment of king's glory or the tutelary deity of royal household.—*EI*, IV, v. 5, p. 248.

[1] Chap. IV. (*SS*, p. 79). *Trivarga* includes *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*.

[2] Act, I, v. 5.

[3] Act II, v. 2.

[4] v. 436.

[5] Chap. 21, vv. 68-71.

[6] According to Bhavabhūti a wise husband followed the dictates of Kāmasūtra in gaining the confidence of his wife.—*MM*, Act VII, p. 145.

[7] *Medhātithi on Manu*, VIII. 389.

[8] *UBPK*, p. 153 (Jacobi's edition).

CHAPTER THREE

CASTE SYSTEM

THEORETICALLY there was nothing specially new about the caste system in the 7th century A.D. It became fully established in India much before the advent of our period and is described with its characteristic features not only in Indian law-books but also by foreign observers, Chinese as well as Arab. The system had a cultural basis in the beginning—a basis which continued to influence Indian society as we shall see also in the period under survey.[1] But the main emphasis was now on heredity.[2] The principal factors which brought about this change probably were :

(1) stress on the purity of blood in a society where the contact of Āryan and non-Āryan elements had become very frequent;

(2) inter-marriages, between members of different castes, with issues whose place in society came increasingly to be determined by the factor mentioned above;

(3) influx of foreign tribes and their absorption into the Hindufold; and

(4) the growth of occupational castes.

We shall refer to these factors whenever necessary in our account of the caste system.

BRĀHMAṆAS

A MOST PRIVILEGED CASTE

In the Smṛtis composed between A.D. 600 and 1000[3], the Brāhmaṇas are represented as being at the apex of the caste system. Kṣatriyas

---

[1] *SNS*, IV. 52-54.

[2] Yuan Chwang says that the four Hindu castes were based on "hereditary clan distinctions," i.e., a Brāhmaṇa was to be born in the family of a Brāhmaṇa and a Kṣatriya in that of a Kṣatriya. (Watters, Vol. I, p. 168). Sulaiman and Almasudi also observe that royalty and nobilities were confined to the same family, learned men and physicians also formed a distinct class and the professions never went out of it.—*ED*, Vol. I, pp. 6, 20.

[3] The dates, of course, have to be regarded as approximate.

are enjoined to obey and the Śūdras tc serve them.[1] But it is not the Smṛtis alone which speak of the high social status of the Brāhmaṇas, during the period. I-tsing, though a foreigner and Buddhist and as such not liable to be influenced by mere ¦dictum of the Hindu scriptures, could not help noting that the Brāhmaṇas were the most honourable caste throughout the five parts of India and were regarded as *devas* (gods).[2] Masudi, an Arab traveller who reached India in the tenth century A.D., remarked that the Brāhmaṇas were honoured by Indians as forming the most notable and illustrious caste[3], and Alberuni who was in India almost at the end of the period stated that Brāhmaṇas were considered "the very best of mankind[4]" and were not like other castes "bound to pay and to perform services to the king."[5]

In the eyes of the law the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed certain privileges. Long ago Manu had laid down that a Brāhmaṇa could not be given capital or corporal punishment[6] and even though there may have been some exceptions to these rules[7], it generally held good during the post-Harṣa period. All that Harṣa did against the Brāhmaṇas who conspired to assassinate him was to exile them.[8] A Brāhmaṇa assassin of the reign of Candrāpīḍa (A.D. 713-720) of Kashmir was not awarded capital punishment because of his caste.[9] Branding and banishment were prescribed as the heaviest punishments for a Brāhmaṇa[10], and if he died heirless, his property was not, as in case of other castes, to be escheated to the king.[11] According to Śaṅkha he enjoyed precedence on the road even over the ruler.[12]

---

[1] *Parāśara S.*, VIII. 33; *LAS*, XXII. 1.
[2] Takakusu, pp. 24 and 182.
[3] *ED*, I, p. 19.
[4] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 101.
[5] ibid., Vol. II, p. 149.
[6] *MS*, Chapter VIII. 38. Medhātithi forbade even a monetaryfine to be imposed on a guilty Brāhmaṇa. (*On Manu*, VIII. 124).
[7] *Śukranītisāra* says that आततायित्वमापन्नो ब्राह्मण: शूद्रवत्स्मृत:। नाततायिवधेदोषो हंतुर्भवतिकश्चन (IV, 1151). For further references to the *ātatāyī* Brāhmaṇas in the Purāṇas see *AIK*, p. 369.
[8] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 221.
[9] *RT*, IV. 96.
[10] *HDS*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 141.
[11] ibid., p. 146.
[12] ibid., p. 147.

For literary references corroborating this view of the position of the Brāhmaṇas in society we can refer to Rājaśekhara's *Karpūra-mañjarī* (10th cen.) where a maid-servant exclaims "there is no rivalling you, for you though unlettered as an iron beam of a goldsmith's balance, are employed as a part of a balance for weighing jewels while I ,though lettered, like a common (balance) am not employed in the weighing of gold."[1]

Occupations of Brahmanas

Adhyāpana (teaching), *pratigraha* (acceptance of gifts) and *yajña* (conducting of sacrifices) were the duties reserved specially for Brāhmaṇas.[2] A Brāhmaṇa with the service of one fire was known as *iṣṭin*; if he served three fires he was called *agnihotrī*; and if he offered besides an offering to the fire he was called *dīkṣita*.[3] Bāṇa's cousins were *śrotriyas* as well as teachers. They were proficient in *nyāya* (logic), poetics, classical literature, grammar, and vedic and purāṇic lore. They performed vedic rites punctually, offered sacrifices, and carried out the prescribed duties of a Brāhmaṇa householder.[4] The lesser educated Brāhmaṇas earned their living as now by reciting *svastivācana* (benedictory *mantras*) and conducting worship at temples.[5] Some were hereditary *purohitas*.[6]

Some Brāhmaṇas took to State service. The Brāhmaṇa Garga and his descendants served as ministers to Dharmapāla and

---

[1] *HOS*, p. 232. That Brāhmaṇas were a privileged class is further evident from the following remark in the *Karpūramañjarī*: ईदिसं राअउलं दूरे वन्दी अदि जहिं दासी बम्हणेण समं पाडिसिद्धि करेदि । ता अज्जप्पहुदि णि अवसुंधरा बम्हणीए चलणसुस्सूसओ भविअ धरे ज्जेवं चिट्ठिस्सं । (Act I, pp. 20-21.)

[2] *Atri Smṛti*, 13 (*SS*, p. 5); *Śaṅkha Smṛti* I. 22 (*SS*, p. 379).

[3] Sachau, Vol. I, p. 102.

[4] *HC*, Chap. III. p. 86. See also the *Mahāvīracaritam* (IV, p. 179) speaking of Brāhmaṇas of Sāketa as carrying the sacrificial vessels for the *Vājapeya* sacrifice; and *RT* which describes a Brāhmaṇa ignorant of Vedic lore as an object of reproach (VI. 276).

[5] *Rat.*, Act. I, p. 12.

[6] Alberuni says, "there is always a Brāhmaṇa in the house of those people, who then administers the affairs of religion and the work of piety. He is called *Purohita*" (Sachau, Vol. II, p. 132). The Pratābgarh inscription of Mahārāja Mahendrapāla II of the Pratihāra dynasty was written by Trivikrama who bore the title of *Purohita*.—*EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 182.

his successor Devapāla.[1] Mitraśarman was the *Sandhivigrahika* of Lalitāditya[2]; Devaśarman and Dāmodaragupta were respectively the minister[3] and the chief councillor of Jayāpīḍa[4]; Bhaṭṭa Phālguṇa worked as minister, first under Kṣemagupta[5] and then under Queen Diddā; Bhākamiśra was the Prime Minister of Yuvarāja I and Someśvara Dīkṣita was a minister of Lakṣmaṇarāja, both of them being the Cedi kings of Tripura.[6] In the *Kādambarī*, Kumārapāla[7] and Śukanāsa[8], the ministers of Śūdraka and Tārāpīḍa respectively, are described as Brāhmaṇas. The Prime Minister of the Śāhī king Dāhir of Sindh was also a Brāhmaṇa and was continued as such even by Muhammad-ibn-Kāsim.[9]

Under adverse circumstances, a Brāhmaṇa could follow other callings. If he failed to earn his livelihood by following his own traditional occupations, he could resort to those of a Kṣatriya.[10] According to Śukra a Brāhmaṇa was to be appointed as *senāpati*, if a suitable Kṣatriya was not available.[11] Kalhaṇa speaks of a Brāhmaṇa named Rakka who was widely known for his bravery.[12] In an inscription of A.D. 654, from the Bharatapur state, a Brāhmaṇa Lokāditya is recorded as having died fighting against a number of robbers.[13] In a 9th century inscription a Brāhmaṇa superintendent of buildings is highly praised for fighting an invader.[14] Some Brāhmaṇas also became rulers, and as such must have naturally taken to the profession of arms. As examples of this fact from ancient history we may refer to the Śuṅgas, Sātavāhanas, Vākāṭakas, Kadambas and Guhilas, and probably also to the Cauhāns and the Paramāras.[15]

---

[1] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 161.
[2] *RT*, IV. 137.
[3] ibid., 496.
[4] ibid.
[5] ibid., VI. 168, 169 & 224.
[6] *The Age of Imperial Kannauj*, p. 90.
[7] p. 26. [8] p. 114.
[9] *The Cacnāmāh*, Introduction, p. vii.
[10] *MS*, X. 81; *SNS*, IV. 1135-6.
[11] *SNS*, II. 421.
[12] *RT*, V. 424. [13] *ARRM*, 1916-17, p. 2.
[14] *EI*, XIII, p. 189.
[15] Not all of these belong to the period under survey. The Cauhāns call themselves *vatsagotrins* and *vipras*. The Paramāras regard themselves as *vasiṣṭhagotrins* and believe that they were created out of the *agnikuṇḍa* at Mt. Abu by Vasiṣṭha.

A Brāhmaṇa's third preference was the occupation of a Vaiśya. He could have the land cultivated. To free himself from the sin resulting from cultivation, he was, however, to give one-sixth of the produce to the ruler, one-twentyfirst to the gods and one-thirtieth to the Brāhmaṇas.[1] So far as tax on produce from the land was concerned, he was to expect no special rights. Śukra, while giving the Brāhmaṇas almost general permission for tilling, requires them to be more human than others. "For Brāhmaṇas," he says, "agriculture by tilling the soil has been prescribed by Manu and other masters. Six oxen are to be employed to their ploughs by Brāhmaṇas, far less by others, two oxen by Antyajas according to the softness of the soil."[2] Samvarta prescribed the gifts of plough and oxen to Brāhmaṇas, probably because they found these articles useful.[3] Rulers assigned to them cultivable land, the produce of which was to be used for various purposes.[4] And that Brāhmaṇas did actually cultivate the land themselves at least in some parts of the country can be seen from the testimony of Yuan Chwang who found Brāhmaṇa cultivators in the Ṭakka region.[5]

As regards the option to trade, the Smṛtis forbid the sale of salt, lac, meat, milk, honey and intoxicating liquors by Brāhmaṇas.[6] They were not permitted also to live by cattle-rearing and usury.[7] The articles in which they could lawfully deal were corn, grass and wood.[8] The scriptural authorities used by Alberuni permitted a Brāhmaṇa to use his capital for trade in clothes and betel-nuts[9], but recommended leaving the actual management of the business to some Vaiśya.[10]

---

[1] *Parāśara S.*, II. 12. [2] *SNS*, IV. 260-261.
[3] vv. 69-70 (*SS*, p. 415).
[4] A large number of such land-grants is mentioned in our epigraphic records.
[5] Beal, *Life of Yuan Chwang*, Book II, p. 73.
[6] *Atri S.*, 21 (*SS*, p. 10); *Vasiṣṭha S.*, II. 31 (*SS*, p. 190); *Parāśara S.*, II. 27.
[7] Sachau, Vol. II, p. 132.
[8] See footnote no. 6 above.
[9] Sachau, Vol. II, p. 132.
[10] Even in times of emergency a Brāhmaṇa did not generally take to the duties of a Śūdra.—*Prajāpati S.*, 47. (*SS*, p. 92). According to Medhātithi he could at the most take to teaching and sacrificing for the unqualified persons.—*On Manu*, X. 77 ff. As a

Their Orthodoxy

Ceremonial purity had come to play a large part in the lives of the Brāhmaṇas of the period.[1] *Śrotriyas* like Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti are proud of their ancestors having been *paṅktipāvanāḥ*, *vivarjitajana-paṅktyaḥ* and *varṇatrayavyāvṛtti-viśuddhāndhasaḥ*.[2] The Brāhmaṇas did not also generally interdine with the Śūdras, even though C. V. Vaidya argues otherwise[3], basing his conclusion upon two Smṛti verses, the one from Vyāsa[4] and the other from Atri.[5] He misinterprets the words *Śūdrāṇāmannam-bhuktvā*, i.e., having eaten the food of Śūdras as, *śūdreṇa-saha-bhuktvā*, i.e., having eaten with Śūdras. That this could not be the meaning intended by Vyāsa can be seen from his assertion that a Brāhmaṇa who accepted food from a Śūdra fell from Heaven.[6] Vaidya's quotation from Atri also suffers from the same mistake. The word *bhojya* in Atri's verse, instead of meaning, 'to be dined with' as explained by Vaidya, means the same thing as the word *bhojyānna* of Manu's *śloka* 253, of Chapter IV; and *bhojyānna* is a *bahubrīhi* compound meaning 'one whose food can be eaten, and not one who is to be dined with.' According to the *Āpastamba Smṛti* a Brāhmaṇa, if he partook of food in the house of a Śūdra, even in distress, was to purify himself by reciting the *drupada* hymn a hundred times.[7] Aṅgirasa laid down the rule that a Brāhmaṇa by accepting a Śūdra's food continuously for a month became a Śūdra within

---

last resort he could live by begging because Śūkra says that ब्राह्मणेन विनान्येषां भिक्षावृत्तिर्विगर्हिता (*SNS*, IV, 26.)

[1] Yuan Chwang who was no friend of the Brāhmaṇa order states that "the first (order) is that of the Brāhmaṇas or "purely living," these keep their principles and live contently, strictly observing ceremonial purity". (Watters, Vol. I, p. 168).

[2] *MM*, I, p. 7; *HC*, Chap. I, p. 39. These terms generally denote the Brāhmaṇas who did not interdine with other castes.

[3] Vaidya, C.V., *Medieval History of India*, Vol. II, p. 185.

[4] नापितान्वय-मित्रार्धसीरिणो दासःगोपालकः ।
शूद्राणामप्यमीषाम् तु भुक्तवान्नं न दुष्यति ।।

[5] शूद्रोऽपि द्विविधोज्ञेयो श्राद्धी चैवतरस्तथा ।
श्राद्धी भोज्यस्तयोरुक्तो ह्यभोज्यस्त्वैतरःस्मतः ।।

[6] IV. 66, 68, 69 (*SS*, p. 370).
[7] VIII. 19-20 (*SS*, p. 42).

his lifetime and was born a dog in his next birth.[1] Parāśara's statement that he did not know to what castes were those to be assigned who partook of the food of a Śūdra shows the same aversion for inter-dining[2], and Alberuni took note of this fact by remarking that each of the four castes, when eating together, formed a group of themselves, one group not being allowed to comprise two men of different castes.[3] Like Aṅgirasa,[4] he also states that a Brāhmaṇa was permanently expelled from his caste, if he ate food of a Śūdra even for sundry days.[5]

Sub-divisions

In the royal grants of the period the Brāhmaṇad onees distinguish themselves by the mention of their *gotra*, *pravara* and *śākhā*.[6] But further sub-divisions among them also seem to have begun during the peroid. In the inscriptions, there are abundant references to their *dvividya*, *trividya* and *cāturvidya* sub-divisions which still survive among the Brāhmaṇas under the names of the Dvivedī, Trivedī and Caturvedī Brāhmaṇas. In the Dadhimatī inscription of G.S. 289 we find the mention of Dadhyā or Dahimā Brāhmaṇas who now form one of the six-castes (*Chah-jñatis*) of the Pañca-Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas in Rajasthan.[7] The Puṣkara inscription of V.S. 982 refers to a donee as belonging to the community of Puṣkara Brāhmaṇas.[8] The references to the Nāgara and Dīkṣita Brāhmaṇas are found in the 10th century grants of the Paramāra King Sīyaka.[9] Rājaśekhara did not remain content by merely mentioning the name of his *gotra*, i.e., Bhārgava or Vasiṣṭha. He refers to all his opinions under the name of Yāyāvara which was perhaps his

---

[1] V. 67 (*SS*, p. 3). See also *Kūrma Purāṇa*, XVII. 1-2.
[2] XII. 36.
[3] Sachau, Vol. I, p. 102.
[4] See footnote No. 1 above.
[5] Sachau, II, p. 163.
[6] For the meanings of the terms *gotra*, *pravara* and *śākhā* see the Appendix No. II.
[7] Dadhimatī-Mātā Inscription, G.S. 289, *EI*, XI, p. 303.
[8] Puṣkara Inscription of V.S. 982; *PRAS WC* 1909-10, p. 59. Dr. Dasharatha Sharma regards the Puṣkara Brāhmaṇas as identical with the Pushakarṇās, and not with the Parāśara Brāhmaṇas as suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.—*Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 238.
[9] Two Hansola Grants of Paramāra Sīyaka, V.S. 1005.—*EI*, XIX, p. 241.

family name.[1] Brāhmaṇas are known to have also migrated to distant lands from Brāhmaṇical centres like Ahichatra[2], Kānyakubja[3] and Ānandapura[4] and it is not unlikely that their descendants formed themselves into communities which later on came to be regarded as their sub-castes.[5]

New Brāhmaṇical communities also grew up. The Magas or Bhojakas or Śakadvīpī Brāhmaṇas, who originally came from Persia, now formed a well-recognised Brāhmaṇa community.[6] Among the astrologers who were called in Prabhākaravardhana's court to read Harṣa's horoscope, there was also a Bhojaka named Tāraka. Bāṇa's commentator Śaṅkara says that the worshippers of the Sun were mainly derived from the class of Bhojakas.[7] Alberuni in the 10th century found them in large numbers in India.[8] There may have been many other accessions like this to the Brāhmaṇa caste which have passed unnoticed.

---

[1] यायावरीयः सक्षिप्य मुनीमां मतविस्तरम् ।
व्याकरोत्काव्यमीमांसां कविभ्यो राजशेखरः ।
(*KM*, Chap. I, p. 2).
The *Māhabhārata*, *Ādiparva* (Chap. 138, v. 12). also refers to a Yāyāvara *kula*.

[2] Babrā Plates of Mūlarāja I, v.s. 1051.—*EI*, X, p. 78.

[3] Mālavā Inscription of Vākpatirājadeva, v.s. 1031.—*IA*, VI. p. 51.

[4] Plates of Śīlāditya IV, G.S 381, *JBBRAS*, Vol. I, p. 75, and Two Hansolā grants of Paramāra Sīyaka, v.s. 1005, *EI*, XIX, p. 241.

[5] There is a Bengali tradition that five Brāhmaṇas from Kannauj migrated to Bengal in the reign of Ādisura and became the founders of the well-known Brāhmaṇa families of Bengal. But the accuracy of the tradition is doubtful.

[6] *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 218-22. The story of their migration into India is also given in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Chap. 139. For further discussion on the subject see the Chapter on religion.

[7] *HC*, IV, p. 128; भोजको रविमर्चयित्वा पूजका हि भूयसा गणका भवन्ति । ये मगा इति प्रसिद्धाः । Śaṅkara's commentary on *HC*. 1. ibid.

[8] Sachau, Vol. I, p. 21. In the opinion of Dr. Bhandarkar, Varāhamihira, the famous Indian astrologer was also a Maga, vide "Foreign Elements in Indian Population," *IA*, XLI. In the Ghaṭiyāla inscription of v.s. 918 a Maga, Raviṣeṇa by name, is described as the writer of the record. *EI*, IX, p. 28.

Some General Reflections

That Brāhmaṇas as a class were neither wholly good, nor wholly bad and that all of them did not keep to the duties laid down by their law-books can be seen from Atri's classification of Brāhmaṇas as Deva, Muni, Dvija, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra, Niṣāda, Paśu, Mleccha and Cāṇḍāla.[1] A Deva Brāhmaṇa performed daily his ceremonial duties, worshipped his gods and was extremely hospitable. A Muni was a vegetarian and lived in a forest, performing *śrāddhas* daily. A Dvija was one who studied Vedānta, Sāṅkhya and Yoga philosophies. A Kṣatriya Brāhmaṇa was one who fought in the front of battle and conquered his enemies. A Vaiśya Brāhmaṇa lived by trade, cattle-rearing and agriculture. The Śūdra Brāhmaṇa sold lac, salt, *kusumbha*, milk, ghee, fish and meat. The Niṣāda Brāhmaṇa was a backbite, a thief and eater of fish and meat. If he knew nothing of a Brāhmaṇa and yet was proud of his sacred heredity, he was a Paśu. One who obstructed the construction of wells, tanks and parks was a Mleccha. A Cāṇḍāla Brāhmaṇa was the worst, for he was not only devoid of culture and knowledge, but also extremely cruel[2].

KṢATRIYAS

Duties and Occupations

An ideal Kṣatriya had to be brave, self-controlled, efficient in protecting the people and punishing the wicked. Performing sacrifices, making gifts and reading the Vedas were as good as penance to him.[3] As a warrior, to the profession born, he was expected to serve either as a soldier or to rule as a prince and prefer to die on the battlefield rather than in his bed.[4]

---

[1] Chap. III, vv. 373-83.

[2] In sharp contrast to the *paṅktipāvana* Brāhmaṇas there were others called *paṅktidūṣakas*, or the defilers of the row of Brāhmaṇas, i.e., Brāhmaṇas whose conduct was a slur on the high caste to which they belonged. Brāhmaṇas whose character was bad, who did not study the Vedas, who lived by professions like worshipping images and lived in parts of the country largely inhabited by non-Āryans and were influenced by their manners and customs naturally fell in this category.—*Śaṅkha S.*, Chap. XIV, vv. 2-4.

[3] *Atri S.*, 14 (*SS*, p. 10); *Parāśara S.*, I. 64; *SNS*, I. 41.

[4] *SNS*, IV. 1136.

In times of distress a Kṣatriya could adopt a Vaiśya's profession of trade and agriculture.[1] But he was not allowed to encroach upon Brāhmaṇas' monopoly of accepting presents, teaching Vedas and presiding at sacrifices, for as a general rule the four castes were entitled to pursue the occupations of classes lower than their own. If one violated this customary law, he was, according to the Smṛtis, deprived of all his property and banished by the king.[2] And that this may have been the actual practice can be seen from the observation of Alberuni that "the Kṣatriya reads the Vedas, learns it, but does not teach it."[3] In case he followed the profession of agriculture, which was the vocation of the next caste, Vaiśya, there could not be any punishment according to this very rule; and even the actual instances of a Kṣatriya cultivator and a Kṣatriya merchant are furnished by the inscriptions of v.s. 933 and 893 respectively.[4]

As of old, a Kṣatriya ruler's greatest title to honour was the protection of the four *varṇas*, the four orders, and the vedic lore.[5] In the reign of the ideal king Śūdraka, the mixture of *varṇas* could be seen only in pictures and not in castes.[6] Harṣa is eulogised as an observer of *varṇāśramadharma* like Manu.[7] Prabhākaravardhana[8], Hari Varmana[9], Khargraha II[10] and Dharmapāla of Bengal[11] are also similarly lauded, because they regulated the practices of the different *varṇas* and *āśramas*; and obviously there must have been some reason for this. In spite of Smṛti regulations *varṇasaṅkaratva* probably was on the increase during this period, and

---

[1] According to Parāśara a Kṣatriya was to atone for the sin incurred by cultivation by worshipping the *Devas* and the Brāhmaṇas.—*Parāśara S.*, II. 13.

[2] *MS*, X. 95-96; *Medhātithi on Manu*, X. 96.

[3] Sachau, I, p. 125; II, p. 136.

[4] *EI*, I, p. 159; *EI*, XIX, p. 58.

[5] *URC*, VI. 9.

[6] *Kād.*, p. 10.

[7] *HC*, Chap. II, p. 79. cf., Bāṇa's following remarks about Śrīkaṇṭha :

सततमसंकीर्णवर्णव्यवहारस्थितिःकृतयुगव्यवस्थः (*HC*, III, p. 94);

मखशिखिधूमजलधाराधौत इव ननाश वर्णसंकरः (ibid., p. 96).

[8] Baṅskhera Plate of Harṣavardhana.—*EI*, IV, p. 210.

[9] *CII*, III, p. 222.

[10] ibid., p. 127.

[11] Monghyr Copperplate Inscription, v. 5.—*EI*, XVI I, p. 318.

persistent efforts had to be made for the protection of the old Hindu social order by orthodox rulers as well as religious leaders.[1] None was debarred from coming within the fold of Hinduism. But some sort of distinction was always aimed at. New tribes when they entered India were permitted to form social hierarchies of their own, with probably their own four classes[2] which in due course merged with the older castes, and defeated in due course the original objective of the Brāhmaṇa law-givers, at least as far as the Kṣatriyas were concerned.[3]

Non-Kṣatriya Rulers

In the ideal society of the Smṛtis, the Kṣatriyas alone were rulers.[4] But in actual practice things had come to be different by the seventh century A.D. Yuan Chwang, for instance, mentions of his contemporaries as belonging to all the four castes.[5] The kings of Śāhī dynasty, who ruled from Kabul to Punjab and offered a stiff resistance to Mahmūd, were Brāhmaṇas.[6] So were the kings of Kashmir of the Yaśaskara dynasty.[7] It is a concession to this actual state of affairs which makes Medhātithi concede that the office of kingship extended to any one who ruled and had proper

---

[1] Śaṅkarācārya in his commentary on the *Vedāntasūtra.* remarks that : इदानीमिव च कालान्तरेऽपि अव्यवस्थिताश्रयान्वर्णधर्मान् प्रतिजानीत्। (I. 3. 33).

[2] मगाश्च मगगाश्चैव गानगा मँदगास्तथा ।
मगा ब्राह्मणभूयिष्ठा मगगाः क्षत्रियाः स्मृताः ॥७३॥
वैश्यास्तु गानगाज्ञेया शूद्रास्तेषां तु मँदगाः ।
न तेषां संकरः कश्चिद्धर्माश्रयकृते क्वचित् ॥७४॥
—*Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, Chap. 318.

[3] See the account of the Rajput clans.

[4] Yuan Chwang and Alberuni knew the Kṣatriyas as a race of kings. The former says that "the second order is that of the Kṣatriyas the race of the king; this order has held sovereignty for many generations." (Watters, I, p. 168); and the latter that "he rules the people and defends them for he is created for this task." (Sachau, II, p. 136.)

[5] In Yuan Chwang's time the Brāhmaṇa kings were ruling in Kāmarūpa and Ujjayinī (Watters, II, pp. 186 & 250); the Kṣatriya kings in Southern Kosala, Mahārāṣṭra and Valabhī (ibid., pp. 200, 239 & 246); Vaiśya kings in Pariyātra and Kannauj (ibid., I, pp. 300 & 343) and the Śūdra kings in Matipura and Sindha (ibid., I, p. 322; II, p. 252).

[6] Sachau, II, p. 13.

[7] *RT*, V. 469-475.

kingly qualities.[1] To the period belongs the rise of the Rajput clans who, though usually regarded as Kṣatriyas, had actually the blood of many races and people coursing through their veins.

RAJPUTS

About A.D. 600 the chief ruling clans of Northern India were the Puṣyabhūtis of Thanesvara, Maukharis of Kannauj, the Later Guptas of Mālwā, the Bhāgadattas of Kāmarūpa, the Karkoṭas of Kashmir, the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor and the Gauḍas of Bengal. A little later we come across the Chandelas of Bundelkhanḍa, the Cedis of Tripura, the Pālas of Bengal, the Guhilas of Cāṭsu and Medapaṭa, the Paramāras, the Caulukyas, the Tomaras and the Cauhāns. The one thing common about them is the extreme obscurity of their origin. Bāṇa describes the fortune of the Puṣyabhūti family in hundreds of pages, but not once does he tell us of the caste to which Harṣa belonged. From Yuan Chwang we learn that he was a Vaiśya.[2] Later on the descendants of this Vaiśya family may have formed the present Bais Rajputs. Similarly nothing is definitely known about the caste of the Maukharis and the Later Guptas. They intermarried with the Vardhanas of Thanesvar, who were not Kṣatriyas.[3] Prabhākaravardhana's mother Mahāsenguptā was most probably a Later Gupta princess.[4] Prabhākaravardhana's daughter Rājyaśrī was married to Grahavarman Maukhari of Kannauj.[5] Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa was an adventurer whose caste is unknown. Durlabhavardhana of Kashmir was of Nāga origin.[6] The Bhāgadattas of Kāmarūpa traced their origin to Bhagadatta of *Mahābhārata* fame but are believed to have been actually some local chiefs raised to the status of Kṣatriyas.[7] The Pālas are described as Kṣatriyas in their later records[8], but their earliest records give no such indication.[9] Bhandarkar, Jackson, Campbell and R. C. Majumdar regard the Pratihāras as Gurja-

---

[1] राजशब्दश्चायं क्षत्रियजातावक्षत्रियेऽपि जनपदेश्वरे दृष्टप्रयोगो
—*Medhātithi on Manu*, IV. 84.

[2] Watters, I, p. 343. [3] *HC*, IV, p. 186.

[4] *Decline of the Empire of Magadha* by Dr. B. P. Sinha, p. 175.

[5] *HC*, IV, p. 186. [6] *RT*, III, 490.

[7] *The Classical Age*, pp. 89-90.

[8] The Kamauli Grant of Vaidyadeva describes them as of *Mihiravaṁśa*.

[9] See, for instance, Haribhadra's commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the commentary on the *Rāmapālacarita*.

ras, a foreign tribe believed to have entered India along with the Hūṇas.[1] Whether we agree with these scholars or not, it is difficult to concede the Pratihāra claim that they were descendants of Rāma's brother Lakṣmaṇa. The Pratihāras of Maṇḍor describe themselves as descendants of a Brāhmaṇa named Haricandra but bring in the name of Lakṣmaṇa, the *pratihāra* (doorkeeper) of Rāmacandra, to show that there was nothing inferior about their avocation.[2] The Chandellas are regarded as impure Kṣatriyas even by many Rajputs, and their feudatories, the Banāphars, were probably of a mixed caste.[3] There is some plausibility also in the suggestion that they were descendants of Kaniṣka's officer Vanaspar.[4]

Of the so called *agnikula* clans the Caulukyas are represented as belonging either to the Yadu family or as born from the *culuka* of Brahmā.[5] The Cauhāns traced their descent from either the Sun or the Moon.[6] The Paramāras alone describe themselves as born out of the fire-pit of Vasiṣṭha and even in their case the *agnikula* myth has been shown to be a late invention.[7] The Guhilas of Mewar and Cāṭsu are now regarded as solar Kṣatriyas. But in their earliest inscription their ancestor Bappā is described as a *vipra* and *mahideva* which would prove, as contended by Bhandarkar, that originally the Guhilas were Brāhmaṇas of Vādnagara.[8] His contention that they originally came from outside India is less convincing.

---

[1] For Bhandarkar's view see his article "The Foreign Elements in Hindu Population," in *IA*, XLI; p. 66, and *JBBRAS*, 1901-1903, pp. 405 ff.; for Jacksons and Campbell's see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I and for R. C. Majumdar's see *The Classical Age*, p. 64 & *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. I, p. 1.

[2] Ghaṭiyālā Inscription of Kakkuka, v.s. 918.—*EI*, IX, p. 279.

[3] *Early Rulers of Khajurāho* by Dr. S. K. Maitra, pp. 121-5.

[4] *History of India from 150 to 350* A.D. by K. P. Jayaswala, p. 42.

[5] *The Classical Age*, p. 227.

[6] *ECD*, p. 5.

[7] *ECD*, p. 4

[8] Aṭapur Inscription of Śaktikumāra, v.s. 1034. — *IA*, XXX, p. 191; Bhandarkar's article on the Guhilots in the *JPASB* 1909; and Mrs. Malathi Sharma's, "Origin of the Guhilots", in *IHQ*, XXVIII.

The only thing common to these clans thus seems to be that their leaders either were rulers themselves or descendants of rulers. Though originally different in caste, they had a horizontal grouping, the only appropriate appellation for which was *rājaputra*, i.e., a member of a ruling family. They intermarried and interdined and thus came to form one caste in due course. They did not exclude even such obviously non-Kṣatriya elements as the Hūṇas and Gūjars. Both of them were in the mediaeval period of Indian history regarded as Rajput. The Hūṇas are mentioned as one of the 36 Rajput clans. The Baḍ-Gūjars are even now regarded as Rajputs. Mānasingha Tomara of Gwalior had a queen who was known as Gūjarī on account of her Gūjara clan.[1] The *varṇa* conception may be seen here asserting itself again, as against the mere idea of *jāti*, in incorporating them in the fold of the *cāturvarṇya* as Kṣatriyas, for this was the only class to which they could be assigned appropriately. Early law-givers perhaps tried to keep them separate from the original Kṣatriyas; but even they had created the legal fiction that the Śakas, Pahalvas, Yavanas, etc. were merely Vrātyas who had lost their original Kṣatriya caste by remaining away from Brāhmaṇas and Brāhmaṇical customs.[2] Naturally, a corollary of this was that as soon as they accepted Hindu culture, their fighting classes came to be regarded as Kṣatriyas. The Guptas did not disdain to accept the hands of Kuṣāṇa, Śaka and Muruṇḍa princesses.[3] Their political successors married with the Hūṇas and the Gurjaras, thereby creating a warrior class which was more liberal in the matter of inter-marriage than the orthodox Brāhmaṇas.

Kṣatriya's Social Status

The social status of the Kṣatriyas differed according to their station in life. Alberuni describes them as the second caste but not much below the Brāhmaṇas.[4] From Ibn-Khur-Dadba we learn that the Kṣatriyas were divided into two classes, the *Sabkufrias* and *Katariyas*.[5] The former were men of high caste, from among whom

---

[1] The Gūjarī Mahal of Gwalior fort is so called on account of her.

[2] *MS*, X. 42-43.

[3] Allahabad *Praśasti*, *CII*, III, p. 6.

[4] Sachau, I, p. 101.

[5] *ED*, I, p. 16.

kings were chosen. They were revered by other classes. In other words the *Sabkufrias* were members or descendants of royal families and as such distinguished from other Kṣatriyas. Ordinary Kṣatriyas stood below them, as do the ordinary Rajputs of to-day with respect to *Rajvis* and big *Jāgīrdārs*. Nor was this difference something new. It is to be seen in the Buddhist literature, where the ruling class is put above all and the ordinary Kṣatriyas below the Brāhmaṇas.[1] It was the class probably that was known as *Rājanya* in the Vedic period. The gulf between them and ordinary Kṣatriyas was probably widened not only by birth but also by the professions that the latter sometimes adopted. Of them some might have become even traders and agriculturists, thus giving rise to classes like the *Brahmakṣatriyas*.

VAIŚYAS

Vaiśyas were of the third caste. An ideal Vaiśya was expected to be skilful in purchase and sale of commodities, to live upon marketing; to domesticate animals and to till the soil.[2] To these Parāśara adds one more duty, the lending of money on interest.[3] But of these, trade alone appears to have gradually become their main concern. Yuan Chwang describes trade as their chief calling in life.[4] Māgha shows them travelling with the king's forces and spreading their merchandise for sale where the army camped.[5] *Bhaviṣyatkathā* records their distant voyages. A Vaiśya disposed off even his cattle to charter boats.[6] Of inland trade also there was enough in spite of various difficulties such as bad roads and tolls and taxes.[7]

Cultivation largely passed into the hands of Śūdras. Partly this change may be ascribed to the influence of Jainism and Bud-

---

[1] In the Pāli *Nidānakathā* (1. 49) and the Sanskrit *Lalitavistara* (1.20) we are told in the story of the Buddha's early life that "while a Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya are the two highest classes, the Kṣatriyas are now admitted to hold the topmost rank".—*A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 461.

[2] *Atri Saṁhitā*, 15 (*SS*, p. 9).

[3] *Parāśara S.*, I. 66.

[4] Watters, Vol. I, p. 168.

[5] *SV*, V. 24.

[6] *BK*, III. 22 (Notes, p. 26). See also *SV*, III. 76.

[7] *UBPK*, pp. 554-6 (Surat ed.)

dhism. I-tsing, for example states that "by faultless occupation is meant trading, because it does not injure life. It is customary at present in India to regard traders as more honourable than farmers; this is because agriculture injures the life of many insects. In cultivating silkworms or in slaughtering animals one contracts a great cause of suffering."[1]

Not all the traders could have been honest, for their main object was making money.[2] In the *Bhaviṣyatkathā* a merchant is represented as advising his son in the following words :—

> "Do not disclose your heart even to friends, be chary of words, acquire wealth in various ways even by deceiving people, extol your goods, do not expose your side but try to feel that of others and be deaf to others' projects but stick to your own."[3]

Alberuni did not find much distinction between the social status of the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. They lived together in the same towns and villages and sometimes in the same houses and lodgings.[4] Many of them must have given up learning the Vedas, though there is no such prohibition in the Smṛtis to let Alberuni write, "The Vaiśyas and Śūdras are not allowed to hear it, much less to pronounce and recite it. If such a thing can be proved against any one of them, the Brāhmaṇas drag him before the magistrate, and he is punished by having his tongue cut off."[5]

The Vaiśyas also may have received new blood. Though we have no evidence on this point, it is not difficult to imagine that when some members of the incoming tribes attained the status of Kṣatriyas, others were recognised as Vaiśyas, if they followed a Vaiśya's calling. From among the Kṣatriya caste also the Vaiśya *varṇa* had probably a large number of recruits. Many of the Jaina sects in Rajasthan trace their ancestry to Kṣatriya forefathers. If the Jaina sources be believed, not a few Kṣatriyas

---

[1] Takakusu, p. 180.

[2] वणिगतस्करः. . . . . जगति दुर्लभः—*HC*, VI, p. 181.

[3] *BK*, III. 6, p. 15. Similar remarks about a merchant are expressed in the *YTC* also which says: "न खलु कालकवल-निकटोऽपि किराटो रहति शाठ्यस्थितिम्।"

[4] Sachau, Vol. I, p. 101.

[5] ibid., p. 125.

would have changed their profession of arms for that of trade and barter under the influence of the doctrine of *ahiṁsā*.

Nor did the Vaiśyas remain one single community during our period. They got sub-divided according to their localities and religion they professed. Thus we hear of Dharkaṭas, Prāgavāṭas, and Śrīmālas.[1] Dhanapāla, the author of the *Bhaviṣyatkathā*, belonged to the Dharkaṭavaṇika caste.[2] The merchants of the Dharkaṭa caste are also mentioned in the inscriptions of v.s. 879[3] and H.E. 258.[4] The word survives in a slightly altered form as Dhakad as a sub-division of Oswāls, who according to a Jaina tradition were originally inhabitants of Osiā, a town founded by Upaladeva, a king of Brāhmaṇical faith. The king was converted to Jainism by Ratnaprabha Sūri along with all his subjects.[5] The Prāgavāṭas are traditionally believed to have originally inhabited the eastern part or the *prākdeśa* of the Srīmāla town in western Rajasthan. They are said to have been converted to Jainism by Haribhadra Sūri (8th century A.D.) who called them Prākavāṭas, i.e., the people of the eastern part or the *prākdeśa*.[6] Another section of the Vaiśyas known as Dhūsaras is mentioned in the Sakrāi inscription of v.s. 879.[7] A few other *jātis* of the *vaṇikas* appearing in the epigraphic records are Nemaka[8], Lambakañcuka[9] and Māthura.[10]

---

[1] According to Agara Chanda Nahta these Vaiśya families were established about the 8th century A.D. See his introduction to *Pragvāta Jāti kā Itihāsa* (Hindi) by Daulat Singh Lodha.

[2] *BK*, XXII. 9, p. 148.

[3] Sakriā Inscriptions, *PRAS (WC)* 1909-10, p. 56.

[4] Ahar Inscription—*EI*, XIX, p. 58. In this inscription the Varkaṭa (Darkaṭa) *Jātīya Vaṇikas* are described as immigrants from Śrīmāla.

[5] The tradition is recorded in the *Osvāla Jāti kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), pp. 3 ff. See also Agara Chanda Nahta's introduction, op. cit.

[6] ibid.

[7] *PRAS (WC)* 1909-10, p. 56. The surname Dhūsara is still well known in Jaipur. They call themselves as Bhārgavas.

[8] The term Nemakavaṇika appears in almost every donation recorded in the Siyādoni stone-inscription, but in the last one recorded in v.s. 1025, there is a definite mention of the term Nemaka *jāti*.

[9] Ahar Inscription, Document No. II of H.E. 258.—*EI*, XIX, p. 58.

[10] ibid., Document No. III of H.E. 261.

ŚŪDRAS

Their Disabilities

We may note some of the Śūdra's disabilities during the period A.D. 600-1000. He was not permitted to read the Vedas[1], nor was he expected to have any *āśrama* except *grhastha*.[2] If some of the *saṁskāras* could be performed by him they were without Vedic *mantras*. He was entitled to perform only the *pañcamahāyajnas* and even these without the recitation of vedic mantras such as *agnaye svāhā* or *svadhā*, etc.[3] Nor could he practise *japa* or perform a *homa*.[4] If he violated these rules, he was, according to the Smṛtis, to suffer punishment.[5]

Śudra Rulers

But compared to the earlier periods, the Śūdras' position was not bad. Even though Śukra laid down that a Śūdra was not to be appointed Commander-in-Chief of the king's forces[6], there were exceptions to this rule in actual practice; in fact so many exceptions in the period under study as well as in the period preceding it as to make the Purāṇas declare that the rulers from the time of Nanda onwards would be Śūdras[7], to let Medhātithi concede that anyone who exercised the functions of a king could be regarded as a king[8],

---

[1] *vide*, above No. 5 on p. 51.

[2] *Medhātithi on Manu*, VI. 97.

[3] *Laghu Viṣṇu S.*, V. 9 (*SS*, p. 122); *Vyāsa S.*, I. 6. (*SS*, p. 351); *SNS*, IV. 369.

[4] *Atri Saṁhitā*, 19 (*SS*, p. 9); *URC*, II, v. 8; *Skanda Purāṇa*, Chap. 242, v. 41.

[5] According to the *Agni Purāṇa* a Śūdra was liable to higher punishment than others for certain offences. If he could be awarded capital punishment for certain offences, a Brāhmaṇa could at the most be banished. If a Brāhmaṇa attempted to kill a Brāhmaṇa he had to undergo a penance for three years; the period of a Śūdra's penance had to be 27 years for the same offence. In casea Śūdra was murdered, the punishment awarded was to be one-sixteenth of a Brāhmaṇa's murder. Though similar dicta were also noted by Alberuni (Sachau, II, p. 162) one cannot be sure as to how far these were followed in practice.

[6] *SNS*, II. 421.

[7] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV. 24.

[8] *vide*, footnote No. 1 on page 47.

and to make Śukra proclaim that it is not birth that makes one a king and that the king is not respected so much because of his ancestry, as for his prowess, strength and valour.[1] Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the 7th century A.D., mentions Śūdras as rulers of Sindh and Matipura.[2] Lokanātha, king of Tipperā, was probably a Śūdra. The great-grandfather and grandfather of his mother were the best of *dvijas*, but her father was a *pāraśava*, i.e., the offspring of a Brāhmaṇa and his Śūdra wife.[3] On the authority of the *Mañju-śrī-mūla-kalpa*[4] which calls the Pālas *dāsa-jīvinaḥ*, this important dynasty too may be regarded as of Śūdra extraction.[5]

Their Improved Economic and Religious Position

Despite various disabilities for some of which a Śūdra himself perhaps did not care much, e.g., *japa*, *homa*, etc., the improved economic and religious position of the Śūdras is also a remarkable feature of Indian society during the period. The poorer among them still carried on their menial duties, ate the leavings of the upper classes and put on their worn-out clothes. But there was another section of theirs which made itself rich by agriculture, trade and industry. Yuan Chwang notes that the Śūdras and agriculturists toiled at cultivating the soil and were industrious at sowing and reaping.[6] Śaṅkha found them efficient in industrial arts.[7] According to Bṛhaspati they could, if they liked, choose *śilpas* and sell all commodities.[8] Parāśara permits the Śūdras to sell salt, honey, oil, blackgrains, ghee and milk.[9] Medhātithi did not find anything wrong if a Śūdra, his economic condition being good, lived without serving his higher castes.[10]

---

[1] *SNS*, I. 81.
[2] Watters, I, p. 322; II, p. 252.
[3] The Tipperā Grant of Lokanātha.—*EI*, XV, pp. 301-15.
[4] *Imperial History of India* by K. P. Jayaswala, p. 72; 'ततः परेण भूपाला गोपाला दास जीविनः। (*MSMK*, XXXV. 883, Quoted in Jayaswala's Book, op. cit.)
[5] It may be noted, however, that opinions on this point differ; Dr. V. A. Smith assigns a Śūdra origin to some of the most important medieval Rajput dynasties.—*EHI*, pp. 340, 422-31.
[6] Watters, Vol. I, p. 168.
[7] *Śaṅkha S.*, I. 5. See also *Atri Saṁhitā*, 15 (*SS*, p. 9).
[8] *Bṛhaspati S.*, v. 530, p. 304 (GOS).
[9] I. 68.
[10] *On Manu*, III. 156 and VIII. 415.

In unorthodox religious systems like Śaivism and Śāktism, the popularity of which might have been in part due to the Śūdra's reaction against Brāhmaṇa orthodoxy, a Śūdra had as respected a place as a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya. In the *Bhairavīcakra* everyone was a *dvijāti*.[1] Many of the new (Tāntric) teachers were Śūdras. Matsyendranātha is generally believed to have been a fisherman of Candradvīpa.[2] The names Ḍombīpā and Telīpā suggest that they belonged to Ḍombī and Telī castes.[2]

Such being the changed circumstances a Śūdra could be kept within the old orthodox system only by granting him some substantial concessions and one concession must have led to the other with the result that by the end of the period under survey he could adopt almost any occupation except a few, specially regarded as the monopolies of Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. In the spiritual field he had many by-ways open to him, and what others regarded as disabilities he might have regarded as boons. He was not bound to perform the countless daily rites nor undergo any *saṁskāra*. He was free from all restrictions in matters of food and drink and had to observe no restrictions of *gotra* and *pravara* in marriage. He must have been happy to be free from caste taboos, for the breach of which he was either not punished at all or given comparatively lighter punishments. The expiation prescribed for him was generally one-fourth of what was laid down for a Brāhmaṇa. A Brāhmaṇa who ate the remnants of the food of a Cāṇḍāla had to practise the *Cāndrāyaṇa Vrata*; a Śūdra had merely to observe a fast for three days.[3] The Brāhmaṇa who unknowingly took water from a pot used by a Cāṇḍāla had to undergo the penance known as the *Śantapana Vrata*, while a Śūdra needed to fast for a day to purify himself.[4] A Brāhmaṇa, who drank water polluted by the touch of a Cāṇḍālā, had to fast for three days, while a Śūdra in the same circumstances was to go without food for that day only.[5]

---

[1] प्रवत्ते भैरवी चक्रे सर्वे वर्णाः द्विजातयः।

[2] *KJN*, Introduction, p. 17. See also Appendix VII.

[3] *Agni Purāṇa*, Chap. 170, vv. 23-24; *Atri Saṁhitā*, vv. 176-7 (*SS*, p. 17)

[4] *AP*, 170, vv. 24-25. Almost similar rules are laid down in the *Parāśara S.*, VI. 27-29; *Likhit S.*, 84-86; *Laghu Śaṁka S.*, 43-45; *Aṅgira S.*, 44-47; *Āpastamba S.*, IV. 1-2.

[5] *AP*, Chap. 170, vv. 25-26.

A Śūdra acquired merit by means of *pūrta-dharma*[1], i.e., the endorsement of tanks, wells, divine edifices, feeding-houses, orchards and caravansaries.[2] He had to perform no costly sacrifices. Through *bhakti* (the creed of personal love and devotion) he had direct access to God and if he was a great believer in Brāhmaṇism he could give them gruel of rice, milk, parched grains, curd, and things cooked in oil, etc.[3] Among *Vaiṣṇavas*, they were worshippers of Viṣṇu, specially in his Gopāla form, for it is as a cowherd that he was nearest to their hearts.[4] They mixed freely with members of other castes on occasions of festivities and could in many sects rise to the highest position in their hierarchy.[5]

Sub-castes among Śudras

Industrial arts and skills gave rise to many sub-divisions among the Śūdras.[6] In our inscriptions we find the mention of oil-makers, garland-makers, leather-workers, potters, goldsmiths, betel-sellers, stone-cutters, horse-dealers, distillers of spirituous liquor and sugar-bailers. The sixth *khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* mentions Śilpī, Nartaka, Kāṣṭhakāra, Prajāpati, Vardhika, Citraka, Sūtraka, Rajaka, Gacchaka, Tantukāra, Cakrika, Carmakāra, Sunika, Dhvanika, Kaulhika, Matsyaghātaka, Aunāmika and Cāṇḍāla. These 18 sub-castes, technically termed *prakṛtis*[7], were further

---

[1] *Atri Saṁhitā*, v. 46 (*SS*, p. 11).

[2] *AP*, Chap. 209, v. 2; *Atri Saṁhitā*, v. 44 (*SS*, p. 11).

[3] *Skanda Purāṇa*, Chap. 242, v. 43.

[4] *Vṛddha Hārīta Smṛti*, VIII. 195 (*SS*, p. 287).

[5] There is nothing to prove the views held by some writers that the Śūdras had been reduced to the status of untouchables. (*Age of Imperial Kannauj*, p. 310). How dfferent the social position of the two was can be guessed from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* where an untouchable woman finding a child lying on the road, does not touch it, fearing that it would be polluted by her touch. She entrusts it to the care of a Śūdra woman. This child was the future Suyyā, the minister of Avantivarman.—*RT*, V. 74-77. See also footnote No. 4 on page 55.

[6] Halāyudha enumerates the following Śūdra classes : Kāyastha, Abhīra, carpenter, goldsmith, jeweller, barber, gardener or Mālākāra, potter, blacksmith, weaver, tailor, shampooer, plasterer, painter, Naṭa and Śailūṣa.—*ARM*, II, vv. 586-92.

[7] Halāyudha regards *Prakṛtis* as a synonym of manual labour. Under the head he puts washerman, distiller of liquids, fisherman, butcher, meat-seller, shoe-maker, fowler and a Cāṇḍāla.—*ARM*, II. vv. 593-8.

divided into the three categories of *uttama*, *adhama* and *antyaja*, their number being given six, five and seven respectively. Among the *uttamas* are enumerated a Śilpin, a goldsmith, a Dāruka, a bell-metalsmith, a Kāḍuka and a potter. The five *adhamas* are Kharavāhīs, Ūṣṭravāhīs, Aśvavāhīs, cowherds and the Iṣṭīkākāras and the *antyajas* were the washermen, leather-workers, Naṭas, Varuḍas, Kaivartas (sailors), Medas and the Bhillas. Further, each of the 18 principal *prakṛtis* sub-divided into 18 sub-*prakṛtis*, again could be described as *uttama*, *madhyama* and *sama*. Among the Śilpins, for instance, the seven *uttamas* were the goldsmiths, Kambukas, Tāṇḍulis, Puṣpalāvakas, betel-sellers, barbers and lapidaries.[1]

Most of the social and economic affairs of these classes were conducted through their own local organisations known as *śreṇīs* or guilds and there are references to them in legal literature as well as inscriptions.[2] As local corporate institutions they had definite judicial powers, and the right to accept deposits, lend money and grant endowments for religious purposes.[3] The Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin's inscription of Gwalior refers to the guilds of the oil-millers and the garland-makers with their four and seven chiefs respectively, who ensured the supply of oil and garlands to the said temple of Viṣṇu.[4] The Siyāḍoni stone-inscription similarly records the gifts of the guilds of betel-sellers, oil-makers and stone-cutters to the god Viṣṇu Bhaṭṭāraka.[5]

Sometimes the Śūdras were divided into *bhojyānnas* and *abhojyānnas*. The *Laghu Viṣṇu Smṛti* classified them as *śrāddhī* (i.e., entitled to perform *śrāddhas*) and *aśrāddhī* (i.e., not entitled to perform *śrāddhas*) probably on the same basis, for it was probably a *bhojyānna* alone who could offer a *śrāddha* and feed Brāhmaṇas.[6] Of the *bhojyānnas*, Ardhika, Kulamitra, Gopālaka, Dāsa and Nāpita are mentioned by Vēdavyāsa, Parāśara and Vṛhadyama.[7]

KĀYASTHAS

The Kāyasthas developed into a caste during the period under study. The *Manu Smṛti* does not mention them. Yājñavalkya

---

[1] Chap. 242, vv. 23-41.
[2] *Yāj. S.*, II. 196.
[3] *Corporate Activities in Ancient India*, Chap. I.
[4] *EI*, I, p. 156.
[5] *EI*, I, p. 173.
[6] v. 70 (*SS*, p. 122).
[7] *Vyāsa S.*, III. 55-56 (*SS*, p. 365); *Vṛhadyama S.*, IV. 10 (*SS*, p. 101); *Parāśara S.*, XI. 21.

probably knew them only as writers and accountants.[1] From Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika*[2], the *Viṣṇu Smṛti*[3] and the Damodarapur copperplate inscription[4] we find that they were associated also in some way with the judiciary and general administration. In the *Mudrārākṣasa* the Kāyastha Śakaṭadāsa is praised for his beautiful writing.[5] But in none of these early references we find the Kāyasthas as a caste. It is only later on that they developed into a caste. Soḍḍhala (11th century), for instance, mentions himself as the member of the *Vālabhya-kāyasthavaṁśa*, the founder of which was a Kṣatriya named Kalāditya.[6] The Sanjan copperplate grant of the year A.D. 871 was drawn up by Guṇadhavala of the *Vallabha-kāyasthavaṁśa*.[7] There are references also to Gauḍa Kāyasthas from various parts of Northern India.[8] In the *Śukranīti* the Kāyasthas are recommended for the post of clerks.[9] A Māthur Kāyastha family is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 987.[10] There are references also to the Saksenā[11] and Vāstavya[12] Kāyasthas and this new state of affairs is recognised by the *Auśanasa* and *Vyāsa Smṛtis*[13] in both of which Kāyasthas are mentioned as a caste. In the *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, of the *Padma Purāṇa*, a Kāyastha is said to bear that name because he was born from the *kāya* or the body of Brahmā.[14]

---

[1] The *Mitākṣarā* commentary on *Yājñavalkya* says that :

एतैः पीड्यमाना बाध्यमानाः प्रजारक्षेत्। कायस्था लेखका गणकाश्च तैः पीड्यमाना विशेषतो रक्षेत्। तेषां राजवल्लभतयातिमायावित्वाच्च दुर्निवारत्वात्।

[2] Acts II & IX.

[3] VII. 3.

[4] *EI*, XI, pp. 113-45.

[5] अहो दर्शनीयान्यक्षराणि (Act I, p. 87).

[6] "Gleanings from Udayasundarīkatha," *ABORI*, XIV, p. 197.

[7] *EI*, XVIII, p. 251.

[8] *EI*, I, pp. 81, 129, 147; XII, p. 61.

[9] II. 172.

[10] *EI*, XII, p. 59.

[11] श्री धर्मभीम इति च प्रथितः पृथिव्यां, सिन्धूद्भवोऽभवदनल्पकृपार्द्रचित्तः। तेनेयं शकसेनेन कारित प्रतिमा मुनेः। Quoted from the *Gauḍalekhamālā* by Raghuvara Miṭṭhulāl Sastri in his article "Buddhism and the Kāyasthas" in *The Mahā Bodhi*, XL, No. 3, p. 120.

[12] *History of Bengal*, I, p. 587. The Vāstavyas are believed to have descended from Vāstu.

[13] *Auśanasa S.*, 35 (*SS*, p. 47); *Vyāsa S.*, I. 11 (*SS*, p. 357.)

[14] Chap. III, v. 164.

But it is far from certain whether all the Kāyasthas could be regarded as belonging to one community. Bhandarkar would on the basis of the surnames Datta, Ghoṣa, Varman, Nāga, Mitra, etc. regard the Bengali Kāyasthas as the descendants of some Brāhmaṇa immigrants from Ānandanagar.[1] The Valabhī-Kāyasthas considered themselves as Kṣatriyas.[2] Even in Kalhaṇa's time there were Brāhmaṇa Kāyasthas in Kashmir.[3] Halāyudha regards the Kāyasthas as a Śūdra caste.[4] All this discrepancy in the accounts that we have shows that the Kāyasthas were forming into a caste with various sub-divisions, the members of which may not have intermarried even in spite of the common name of Kāyastha which they bore. Nor did they all perhaps regard themselves as equally high-born or low-born.

Karaṇikas or Karaṇins, i.e., accountants who had been developing into a separate caste, as shown by the *Harṣacarita*[5], amalgamated with the Kāyasthas during this period.[6] From Kṣemendra of Kashmir who wrote a little after the 10th century A.D., we learn that a Kāyastha could be in charge of revenue collection, govern over a province, supervise confidential official records and accounts, control the treasury, and also act as a petty revenue official.[7] Thus they manned practically all important departments of the State and one had to deal with them at every step in the State of Kashmir.

---

[1] Bhandarkar's articles published in *The Kāyastha Samācāra* in the issues from July 1932 to October 1932.

[2] *Udayasundarīkathā*, p. 11.

[3] *RT*, VIII. 2382.

[4] *ARM*, II. 586.

[5] *HC*, Chap. VII, p. 203.

[6] In the Gurmāh plate of Jayāditya the Karṇin is stated as *Mahāmantrī* and the Kāyastha as *Mahākṣapaṭalika* (*JASB*, 1900, I, p. 92). In the Ajayagarh inscription of the Chandella king Bhojavarman, Karṇa and Kāyastha are used as one and interchangeable terms (*EI*, I, pp. 330 ff). The lexicographer Vaijayantī did not distinguish between the two and described both as scribes. So to say it can reasonably be held that the two castes ultimately amalgamated into one and the Karṇas who once held the office of accountants also came to be reckoned as Kāyasthas. In the *Mitākṣarā* commentary a Kāyastha is described in both the capacities, as an accountant and a scribe (*On Yajñavalkya*, I. 336).

[7] *Narmamālā* (Introduction), ed. by Madhu Sudan Kaul.

Some Kāyasthas attained distinction as writers.[1] The Kāyastha writer of the Kinsāriyā inscription of v.s. 1056 was a good poet.[2] Soḍḍhala wrote a very good *gadyakāvya*, the *Udayasundarīkathā*. Pāṇḍudāsa in Dakṣiṇarāḍha must have been learned enough to appreciate Śrīdhara's commentary on the *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* of Praśastapāda which was composed in the Bhūriśreṣṭhi in A.D. 991.[3] In the epigraphic records extending from the 7th to 10th centuries A.D., they are also represented as king's servants appointed to engrave royal charters on stone slabs and copperplates. For this work a Gauḍa Kāyastha had gained distinction even outside Bengal.[4]

DEPRESSED AND BACKWARD CLASSES

Last in the grade of castes were the Antyajas, the depressed classes. The seven Antyaja classes mentioned by Atri and Yama were the washerman, the shoe-maker, dancer, Varaḍa, the fisherman, Meda and Bhilla.[5] According to Alberuni, after the Śūdras, followed the people called Antyajas, who rendered various kinds of services. They were not reckoned amongst any caste, but only as members of a certain craft or profession. There were eight classes of them, the fuller, the shoe-maker, the juggler, the basket and shell-maker, the sailor, the fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and of birds, and the weavers, who, except the fuller, shoe-maker and weaver, intermarried with each other for others would not condescend to have anything to do with them. These guilds lived near the villages and towns of the four castes, but outside them.[6] Thus

---

[1] In the *BKK* the Lekhaka is called a Kāyastha also and he was an absolute in-charge of reading and interpreting the King's written orders (Katha Nos. 23 and 25).

[2] *EI*, XII, p. 61.

[3] Its name is *Nyāyakandalī*.

[4] The following inscriptions written outside Bengal by the Gauḍa Kāyasthas clearly show how the kings of other parts of India engaged Gauḍa scribes to engrave their records:
(1) Aphsaad Inscription of Ādityasena, *CII*, III, p. 208; (2) The Marañjamūra Charter of Yayāti Mahāśivagupta of Kosala, *JBORS*, 1916, p. 45; (3) The Stone Inscription of Yaśovarman, the Chandela, *EI*, I, p. 123; (4) The Inscription of the time of Cāhamān Durlabharāja, *EI*, XIV, p. 61.

[5] *Atri S.*, 199 (*SS*, p. 18); *Yama S.*, 33 (*SS*, p. 113).

[6] Sachau, I, p. 101.

the Antyajas also seem to have developed a caste hierarchy, some classes being even more depressed and despised than the others.[1]

Lower than even these Antyajas were, according to Alberuni, the Hāḍīs, Cāṇḍālas, Ḍomas and Badhataus.[2] The Cāṇḍālas occupied themselves with dirty work like the cleaning of villages and other similar services. Both Fa-hien[3] and I-tsing[4] had noted that the Cāṇḍālas or outcastes were required, while entering a city or bazar, to strike a piece of wood as a warning of their approach in order that the people might not be polluted by contact with them. Bāṇa speaks of a Mātaṅga or Cāṇḍāla girl as *sparśavarjitā* and *apagatasambhogasukhā*[5] and gives good description of a Cāṇḍāla settlement showing that they were good hunters, clever in training birds of prey and dogs, and fond of wine. They rode on white oxen, and offered bloody sacrifices to their deities.[6] In they had to do scavenging. Outside them they probably lived by hunting. The Ḍomas like Cāṇḍālas had hunting as one of towns their avocations, an avocation still followed by their class in some parts of India. Hāḍīs may have been the ancestors of the present Ḍhāḍīs of Rajasthan who like the Ḍomas are singers. Nothing definite is known about the Badhataus. Alberuni[7] states that they lived on the meat of dogs, not because they actually consumed the meat of dogs but because they were popularly known as *Śvapacas*.[8]

Included among those depressed and backward classes were many indigenous people of India, the Śabaras, Bhillas, Kirātas, Pulindas, etc.[9] In their forest recesses they had plenty of freedom. But in Āryan settlements, they were the lowest of the lowest, and could be classed only as Antyajas, a word which had not only a racial but also a cultural significance, because a Cāṇḍāla had not unoften more of Āryan than non-Āryan blood.[10]

---

[1] The law of Smṛti to this effect is as old as Manu. According to him the offspring of a Cāṇḍāla and a Niṣāda was to be shunned even by the Cāṇḍālas themselves (X. 39).

[2] Sachau, I, p. 101.

[3] Legge's *Travels of Fa-hien*, p. 43.

[4] Takakusu, p. 139.

[5] *Kādambarī*, pp. 23-24.

[6] ibid., pp. 591-3.

[7] Sachau, I, p.102.

[8] *ARM*, II. 599.

[9] *ARM*, II. 598.

[10] See *infra*, p. 65

SAṄKĪRṆA JĀTIS

Before closing our account of the caste system we have to speak also of the *saṅkīrṇa jātis*, who, though generally treated as Śūdras, are enumerated separately in the Smṛtis.

According to the Smṛtis various other castes were created by their *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages.[1] The number of primary *anulomas* and *pratilomas* was six each.[2] But further sub-castes are said to have sprung from the intermingling of primary *anulomas* and *pratilomas* among themselves and their marital relations with the four *varṇas*. Vedavyāsa[3] mentions twenty-two doubly mixed castes, Auśanasa[4] mentions forty and Medhātithi[5] sixty. All the Smṛtis taken together mention about one hundred mixed castes.[6] For these reference may be made to the tabular statement at the end of the chapter.

It is, however, certain that all the castes did not actually originate in the way described by the Smṛtis. Had it been actually so, the process of the formation and derivation of one and the same caste would not have been so diversely described by our law-givers. A Pulkasa, for example, was, according to Vasiṣṭha, a descendant of a Vaiśya male and a Kṣatriya female, but according to Auśanasa he was the offspring of a Śūdra male and a Kṣatriya female.[7] Veṇa was born of the union of a Vaideha male and an Ambaṭṭha female according to Manu.[8] Vasiṣṭha describes him as the descendant of a Śūdra male and a Kṣatriya female, while Auśanasa regarded him as the issue of a Sūta male and a Brāhmaṇa female.[9] A Rathakāra is similarly described as born from the union of a Māhiṣya male and a Karṇa female, the union of a Vaiśya male with a Śūdra female and from the union of a Kṣatriya male

---

[1] *Anuloma* means a marriage between the male of a higher and the female of a lower caste; and the *pratiloma* is a marriage just in the reverse order.

[2] *MS*, X. 10-12, 16-17; *Yāj.*, I. 91-94.

[3] Chap. I, vv. 10-12 (*SS*, p. 356).

[4] Full chapter (*SS*, pp. 46-48).

[5] *On Manu*, X. 31.

[6] *HDS*, II, p. 57.

[7] *Vasiṣṭha S.*, XVIII. 2 (*SS*, p. 216); *Auśanasa S.*

[8] X. 19.

[9] *Vasiṣṭha S.*, XVIII (*SS*, p. 216); *Auśanasa S.*, v. 4 (*SS*, p. 46).

with an unmarried Brāhmaṇa female, respectively, according to Yājñavalkya, Baudhāyana and Auśanasa.[1]

Actually, however, they appear to have originated differently. As Brāhmaṇas theoretically recognised only four *varṇas* they had to explain the origin of the rest through their intermixture in spite of this being not a fact.[2] A few examples would prove our contention :—

1. *Āndhra*—According to Manu it was a sub-caste which sprang from the union of the Vaidehaka father and the Kārāvara mother.[3] But it was an old indigenous tribe inhabiting the Godavari-Krishna valley. Earliest references to them are found in the *Aitareya* and *Śatapatha* Brāhmaṇas. Rock Edict XIII of the great Mauryan King Aśoka mentions them as a tribe inhabiting his empire. The Śātavāhana rulers are mentioned as Āndhras in the Purāṇas.[4] Reference to the Āndhra country and the people is made also by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang who says that they "were of violent character, their mode of speech differed from that of "Mid India" but they followed the same system of writing."[5]

2. *Ambaṣṭha*—He is described in *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Vasiṣṭha* and *Auśanasa Smṛtis* as the progeny of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Vaiśya mother.[6] But a tribe called Ambaṣṭha existed in India as early as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. In contrast with their mixed origin in the *Manu Smṛti*, they are represented as Kṣatriyas in the *Mahābhārata*. In the *Ambattha Sūta*, an Ambaṣṭha is described as a Brāhmaṇa. Some regard them as a tribe of Brahma-Kṣatriyas, while others hold that they were at first mainly a fighting race, some of whom took to other occupations, viz., those of priests and farmers, and according to the Smṛti writers, of physicians.[7]

---

[1] *Yāj.*, I. 95. *Baudhāyana S.*, I, (9), 6 (*SS*, p. 439); *Auśanasa S.*, 5 (*SS*, p. 46).

[2] Yuan Chwang who came to India in the beginning of the period recognised the complexity of caste system and ends his account of it by saying that "there are also the mixed castes, numerous clans formed by groups of people according to their kinds and these cannot be described."—Watters, I, p. 168.

[3] X. 36.

[4] *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 165.

[5] Watters, II, p. 209.

[6] *Manu S.*, X. 8; *Yāj.*, I. 91; *Vasiṣṭha S.*, XVIII. 6 (*SS*, p. 216); and *Auśanasa S.*, 31 (*SS*, p. 47).

[7] *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 97.

3. *Ābhīra*—According to the *Manu Smṛti* he was an offspring of the union of a Brāhmaṇa male and an Ambaṣṭha female.[1] But in history the *Ābhīras* are a well-known tribe. They had their settlement in many parts of India.[2] In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta they are counted among the tribes which paid homage to the Great Gupta Emperor.[3] In the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas*, they are described *Dakṣiṇapathavāsinaḥ* and classed with many other South Indian tribes like Puṇḍrakas, Keralas, Kaliṅgas, Āndhras, Śabaras, etc.[4]

4. *Pulinda*—The Smṛtis describe a Pulinda as the son of a Vaiśya father and an unmarried Kṣatriya woman.[5] But actually, Pulindas were a race of non-Āryan people. In the Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka they are classed with the Āndhras, Bhojas and Rāṣṭrikas.[6] They are mentioned also in the *Raghuvaṁśa*.[7]

5. *Khasa*—He is described in the *Manu Smṛti* as the son of a *Vrâtya-Kṣatriya* and his *Savarṇā* wife.[8] But in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Khasas are spoken of as a hill-tribe (*parvatāśrayiṇāh*). In the inscriptions of the Pāla and Sena kings they are represented as enlisting themselves as mercenary troops.[9]

6. *Ugra*—In most of the Smṛtis an Ugra is described as the descendant of a Kṣatriya male and a Śūdra female.[10] But Ugras actually were a very old and well-known tribe. They are mentioned in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* associates them with the city of Vaiśālī, while the *Dhammapada* commentary refers even to a city called Ugga or Ugra.[11]

---

[1] X. 15. [2] *Gupta-Vakaṭaka Age*, pp. 45, 131, 273.

[3] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 258, line 22.

[4] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chap. 57, vv. 45-48, Chap. 58, v. 22; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Chap. 45, v. 146; *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 81. Dr. Buddha Prakash has even attempted to show that the Ābhiras originally belonged to the Khapiru stock and a section of them settled in the region called Abirvan, between Heart and Khandhar, from where they entered into the Punjab.—*Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab*, p. 132.

[5] *Auśanasa S.*, 16 (*SS*, p. 46).

[6] These formed a group of vassal tribes within Aśoka's dominions.

[7] XVI. 32. [8] X. 43-44. [9] *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 400.

[10] *Manu S.*, X. 9; *Yāj.*, I. 92; *Vasiṣṭha*, XVIII. 6 (*SS*, p. 216). But according to Auśanasa he was a son of a Brāhmaṇa male and a Śūdra female, V. 41 (*SS*, p. 47).

[11] *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 388.

7. *Māgadha*—His derivation in the Smṛtis is described in four different ways, viz., (i) from a Vaiśya male and a Kṣatriya female; (ii) from a Śūdra male and a Kṣatriya female; (iii) from a Vaiśya male and a Brāhmaṇa female and (iv) from a Śūdra male and a Vaiśya female.[1] To this mixed caste, Smṛtis generally ascribe the function of a bard and a trader. But it is probable that originally the word was not used in the sense of a special caste. It meant only a resident of Magadha. On the basis of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (III. 4. 1. 1) which says that the people of Magadha were famous for their loud voice, Dr. B.C. Law concludes, "The fact that Magadha in later times often stands for 'minstrel' is easily accounted for by the assumption that the country was the home of minstrels and that wandering bards from Magadha were apt to visit the more western provinces of ancient India."[2]

8. *Niṣāda*—In the Smṛtis he is described as the offspring of a mixed union between a Brāhmaṇa male and a Śūdra female[3] and is enjoined to follow the occupation of a fisherman or a wild hunter.[4] But in the vedic literature the Niṣādas are described as an aboriginal tribe outside the Āryan pale.[5] Even in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Guha, the king of the Niṣādas, is described as belonging to the band of the foresters.[6]

9. *Kirātas*—According to Manu a Kṣatriya reduced to the status of a Śūdra is to be known as a Kirāta.[7] Vedavyāsa regards him as a Śūdra. But in history Kirātas are known as a non-Āryan tribe of foresters and mountaineers living in the mountains east of India. They are described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as "islanders, who eat raw fish, live in the waters and are men-tigers."[8]

10. *Malla*—He is described in the *Manu Smṛti* as born of a Vrātya father by his Savarṇā wife.[9] But a martial race called

---

[1] *HDS*, II, p. 90.
[2] *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 195.
[3] *Manu S.*, X. 8.
[4] *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 99.
[5] ibid.
[6] Ādikāṇḍa, Canto I; Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Canto 51.
[7] X. 43-44.
[8] *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* by John Dowson, p. 158.
[9] X. 22.

Mallas is mentioned in Buddhist texts. Kauṭilya describes them as a *gaṇa*, the members of which were like the Licchāvīs known as *Rājās*.[1]

11. *Yavana*—According to Gautama he was born of a Kṣatriya father and a Śūdra mother. But actually a Yavana is an Ionian.

In all the above cases the new castes seem to have been formed by the entry of new elements into the Hindu fold. But there were many among the *saṅkīrṇa-jātis* who had the unity of profession as the basis of their caste. Of these we have mentioned the Kāyasthas already. We may mention also the following without claiming that the list is exhaustive :

1. Karmakāra (an artisan)
2. Kaṁsyakāra (a bellmetal-smith)
3. Kumbhakāra (a pitcher maker)
4. Kuśilava (an actor or a singer)
5. Cakrī (an oilman or a potter)
6. Carmakāra (a leather-tanner)
7. Tantuvāya or Tantukāra (a weaver)
8. Tāmbūlika (a betel-leaves seller)
9. Naṭa (a tumbler)
10. Nāpita (a barber)
11. Nartaka (a dancer)
12. Bhiṣak (a physician)
13. Matsyaghātaka (a fisherman)
14. Maṇikāra (a jeweller)
15. Rajaka (a washerman)
16. Rathakāra (a chariot-maker)[2]

Any one who goes through this list carefully will find that they included the *prakṛtis* or guilds mentioned among the Śūdras and Antyajas.

Changes in marriage customs also must have given rise to new sub-castes. In the earlier period of our history, the son of a Brāhmaṇa by a Kṣatriya wife was treated as a *savarṇa*. But in our period he is treated as a Kṣatriya by birth by Auśanasa[3],

---

[1] *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 258.
[2] For more details see the table at the end of the chapter.
[3] *Auśanasa S.*, 28 (*SS*, p, 47).

Śukra[1] and Vijñāneśvara.[2] Rājaśekhara married a Cauhān girl, named Avantisundarī.[3] But we know nothing about her children. Whether the issues of such unions, for instance, the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor, were not for some time treated a bit differently from the other Kṣatriya clans is also not known.[4] The sons of a Śūdra woman by a Brāhmaṇa father became Pāraśavas[5], who were probably classed as Śūdras. By the tenth century the tendency to regard the child as belonging to the mother's caste must have been fairly established to let Alberuni write that, "the child belongs to the caste of the mother and not to that of the father. Thus, for instance, if the wife of a Brāhmaṇa is a Brāhmaṇa, her child is also a Brāhmaṇa; if she is a Śūdra her child is a Śūdra."[6] But that this did not become wholly the law of the land can be seen from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[7]; and sometimes the principles of *jātyutkarṣa* and *jātyapakarṣa* may also have operated. When *anulomas* married in such a way that a male was always higher or lower than the female they rose to a higher (i.e., *jātyutkarṣa*) or sank down respectively to a lower (i.e., *jātyapakarṣa*) caste, in the 7th, 5th or 3rd generation. Medhātithi explains the process by saying that if the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Vaiśya mother, again married a Brāhmaṇa and the process went up to the five generations, then in the fifth generation there will be a *jātyutkarṣa*, i. e., the child thus born would be regarded fully as a Brāhmaṇa. But if the son of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Vaiśya mother married a Vaiśya female and this continued for five generations then in the fifth generation the child thus born would have *jātyapakarṣa*, i. e., he would be regarded as a Vaiśya. In case a Brāhmaṇa married a Kṣatriya woman *jātyutkarṣa* or *jātyapakarṣa* occurred in the third

---

[1] *SNS*, IV. 370-371.
[2] *Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya, Ācārādhyāya*, v. 91.
[3] *Karpūramañjarī*, I. 11.
[4] Jodhpur Ins. of Bauka, v. 894.—*EI*, XVIII, p. 95.
[5] *MS*, X. 8.
[6] Sachau, II, p. 156.
[7] Candrāpīḍa and Lalitāditya were the issues of king Pratāpāditya by a 'divorcee' who was formerly the wife of a Baniyā of Rohtaka (IV. 15-42). Similarly the motler of another Kashmirian king Śaṅkaravarman was born in the family of low-caste spirit-distiller (v. 206). King Śaṅkaravarman himself married an untouchable Ḍomba woman who was even declared the chief queen enjoying the privilege of being fanned by the Yak tail (v. 387.)

generation.[1] This theory was not wholly without operation among Rajputs in the 19th century.[2]

Outcasting and cultural deteriorations could also create castes and communities. According to the *Vyāsa Smṛti*, the Cāṇḍālas were of three types :—

1. The issues of an unmarried girl.
2. The children born of the parents of the same *gotra*.
3. Those born of a Śūdra father and a Brāhmaṇa mother.[3]

And that this was no mere theory can be seen from the anthropological study of many of our scheduled castes, who are divided into a number of sub-divisions according to the caste from which they are supposed to have descended.[4] Many must have gone down in the social scale, when Brāhmaṇas began to put extra emphasis on the purity of blood and observance of customs, with a view, of course, not to let their race and their culture be submerged by alien races.[5] But in this they were going against the inner spirit of Hinduism and defeating the purpose they worked for; because cultures live and grow not by a policy of untouchability but by free and unrestricted cultural contacts.

---

[1] *On Manu*, X. 64-65.

[2] "There is a saying in Mewar that in the third generation the offspring of Bhīl women become Dāroghās and the off-spring of Dāroghā women by Rajputs become Rajputs. There are several well-known instances at the present time in Rajputana of Dāroghās having become Rajputs and been accepted by them as such."—*Speeches and Writings* of Har Bilas Sarda, p. 434.

[3] *Vyāsa S.*, I. 9-10 (*SS*, p. 357).

[4] For instance, the caste of Indian *Camāras* (leather-tanners), according to G. W. Briggs, received recruits from above as well as below. The former contention, he says, is "borne out by many *got* or family, and sub-caste names; for example, *Banaudhīya*, *Uijainī*, *Chandharīya*, *Sarwarīya*, *Kanaujīya*, *Cauhān*, *Chandèl*, *Saksena*, *Sakarwar*, *Bhadaraurīya* and *Bundela*. These are names of Rajput clans, and, as applied to the *Camārs*, suggest dependency. This may mean also more or less racial admixture, as in the case of *Jāṭiya*. Sub-caste names such as *Kori* and *Turkiya* point also to the wide range of racial elements in the caste." A *Jāṭīya Camār* who is of a higher physical type than some other sub-castes and of higher explanation, is believed by Briggs to have been recruited from above under some occupational demands or more likely, that "some pressure or penalty resulted in the degradation." As regards the large accessions to *Camārs* from below, Briggs writes that "*Got* and sub-caste names show that many *Camāras* have sprung from the *Ḍom*, the *Kanjar*, the *Habura*, the *Kot*, the *Jaiswar* and other casteless tribes."—*Chamāra*, pp. 18-19.

[5] See the last Chapter.

SOME SAṄKĪRṄA CASTES[1]

No.	*Caste*	*Father*	*Mother*	*Occupation*	*Smṛti*
1.	Ācārya	Vrātya Vaiśya	Savarṇā		Manua
2.	Abindika	Niṣāda	Vaidehī	Leatherwork	Manua
3.	Antyavasāyī	(a) Cāṇḍāla	Niṣādī		Manua
		(b) Śūdra	Vaiśyā		Vasiṣṭh
4.	Ārdhika	Brāhmaṇa	Vaiśyā		Parāśar
5.	Avṛtta	Brāhmaṇa	Ugrā		Manu
6.	Ayogava	Śūdra	Vaiśyā	Wood Work	Manu
		Śūdra	Vaiśyā		Yājñavalkya
		Śūdra	Vaiśyā	Raṅgāvataraṇa	Bṛhadviṣṇu
		Vaiśya	Kṣatriyā		Baudhāyana
		Vaiśya	Kṣatriyā	Trade in bell-metal and cloth weaving	Auśanasa
7.	Bhiṣaka	Brāhmaṇa	Unmarried Kṣatriyā	Astrology & Āyurveda	Auśanasa
8.	Bhūrjakaṇṭaka	Vrātya Brāhmaṇa	Savarṇā		Manu
9.	Cakrī	Śūdra	Unmarried Vaiśyā	Selling oil and salt	Auśanasa
10.	Carmakāra	Sūta	Kṣatriyā		Auśanasa
11.	Carmopajīvī	Vaidehika	Brāhmaṇī		Auśanasa

[1] These do not include the castes discussed in the text of this Chapter.

No.	*Caste*	*Father*	*Mother*	*Occupation*	*Smṛti*
12.	Cuñcu			Hunter of wild animals	Manu
13.	Dāsa	Niṣāda-Brāhmaṇa	Ayogava Girl Śūdrā Girl	Sailor	Manu Parāśara
14.	Dhigavaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Ayogava Girl	Leather-work	Manu
15.	Dhīvara	Vaiśya	Kṣatriyā		Gautama
16.	Draviḍa	Vrātya-Kṣatriya	Savarṇā		Manu
17.	Gāyaka	Rañjaka	Vaiśyā	Singing	Auśanasa
18.	Goja or Guda	Nṛpa	Kṣatriyā	Kṣatriya dharma	Auśanasa
19.	Gwāla	Kṣatriya	Śūdrā		Parāśara
20.	Jhalla	Vrātya-Kṣatriya	Savarṇā		Manu
21.	Karaṇa	Vaiśya	Śūdrā		Yājñavalkya & Gautama
		Vrātya-Kṣatriya	Savarṇā		Manu
22.	Kārāvara	Niṣāda	Vaidehī	Leather-work	Manu
23.	Karuṣa	Vrātya-Vaiśya	Savarṇā		Manu
24.	Kaṭakārā	Vaiśya	Unmarried Śūdrā		Auśanasa
25.	Kṣattā	Śūdra	Kṣatriyā	Killing animals living in holes	Manu
		Śūdra	Kṣatriyā		Yājñavalkya & Baudhāyana

26.	Kukkuṭaka	Śūdra	Niṣādī		Bṛhadviṣṇu
27.	Kumbhakāra	Brāhmaṇa	Unmarried Vaiśyā	Pottery	Auśanasa
28.	Madgu			Hunting wild animals	Manu
29.	Māhiṣya	Kṣatriya	Vaiśyā		Yājñavalkya & Gautama
30.	Maitra	Vrātya-Vaiśya	Savarṇā		Manu
31.	Maitreya	Vaideha	Ayogavī	Sailor	Manu
32.	Maṇikāra	Kṣatriya	Unmarried Vaiśyā	Dealing in precious stones	Auśanasa
33.	Mārgava	Niṣāda	Ayogavī	Sailor	Manu
34.	Matsyabandhaka	Sūcaka	Kṣatriyā	Fishery	Auśanasa
35.	Meda	Vaideha	Niṣādī	Hunting the wild animals	Manu
36.	Mūrdhāvaṣikta	Brāhmaṇa	Kṣatriyā		Yājñavalkya & Gautama
37.	Nāpita	Brāhmaṇa	Śūdrā maiden		Parāśara
		Brāhmaṇa	Unmarried Vaiśyā	Barber	Auśanasa
38.	Nartaka	Rañjaka	Vaiśyā		Auśanasa
39.	Naṭa	Vrātya-Kṣatriya	Savarṇā		Manu
40.	Licchivī	Vrātya-Kṣatriya	Savarṇā		Manu
41.	Nṛpa	Brāhmaṇa	Unmarried Kṣatriyā		Auśanasa
42.	Pācaka	Vaidehika	Brāhmāṇī		Auśanasa
43.	Pāṇḍusopāka	Cāṇḍāla	Vaidehī	Bamboo-work	Manu
44.	Pāraśava	Brāhmaṇa	Śūdrā		Yājñavalkya, Gautama & Baudhāyana
		Brāhmaṇa	Śūdrā	Āgama-vidyā & Maudala-vṛtti	Auśanasa

No.	*Caste*	*Father*	*Mother*	*Occupation*	*Smṛti*
45.	Pukkasa	Niṣāda	Śūdrā	Hunting animals living in holes	Manu
		Niṣāda	Śūdrā		Manu
					Baudhāyana
				To kill animals	Bṛhadviṣṇu
46.	Rajaka	Pulkasa	Vaiśyā		Auśanasa
47.	Rañjaka	Śūdra	Unmarried Kṣatriyā		Auśanasa
48.	Romaka	Vaiśya	Brāhmaṇī		Vasiṣṭha
49.	Sairandhra		Ayogavī	Hunting; Serving	Manu
50.	Sattvaka	Vrātya-Vaiśya	Savarṇā		Manu
51.	Sopāka	Cāṇḍāla	Pukkasī		
52.	Sūcaka	Vaiśya	Married Śūdrā Woman		Auśanasa
53.	Sūcika	Vaidehika	Kṣatriyā		Auśanasa
54.	Sudhanvā	Vrātya-Vaiśya	Savarṇā		Manu
55.	Sundhika	Brāhmaṇa	Unmarried Śūdrā		Auśanasa
56.	Sūnika	Ayogava	Kṣatriyā		Auśanasa
57.	Sūta	Kṣatriya	Brāhmaṇī maiden	To drive a chariot	Manu & Bṛhadviṣṇu
		Kṣatriya	Brāhmaṇī		Yājñavalkya, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha & Baudhāyana
		Kṣatriya	Married Brāhmaṇī		Auśanasa

58.	Suvarṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Married Kṣatriyā	To ride, to command the forces and to give medicine to the people	Auśanasa
59.	Svapaca	Cāṇḍāla	Vaiśyā	To domesticate dogs and to eat dog-meat	Auśanasa
60.	Svapāka	Kṣattā	Ugrā	To dispose of the dead	Manu
		Ugra	Kṣattā		Baudhāyana

CHAPTER FOUR

EDUCATION AND LITERARY ACTIVITIES

EDUCATION

WE HAVE DESCRIBED in the last chapter the structure of Indian society as far as it was fashioned by the twin factors of *jāti* and *varṇa*. To have a fuller and more accurate view of it we must discuss also the educational ideas which inspired it and the literary activities through which the society gave full-blooded expression to its multiform aspirations, as well as its desires, inhibitions and limitations. We take up, therefore, as our next topic, the system of education and the educational ideals of the society we have been attempting to describe.

CONCEPTION OF EDUCATION

Education, here, as elsewhere, was conceived as a means of bringing out and developing fully the inherent qualities with which every child is endowed at his birth. It was the function of education to encourage certain tendencies and to inhibit others, to give perfect discipline to body and the mind; in short to advance a human being towards perfection by bringing out the best in him and burning up all dross that might be his psychological inheritance.

But as to what is perfection and how this is to be attained, different views were held. 'Varied are the likings of people,' as the *Mahimnahstotra* states.[1] One school laid stress upon objective perfection; another advocated subjective perfection requiring the individual to abstain from objective life and enjoyment as far as possible and a third school believed in living a full life here and making it the basis of fuller life hereafter. *Pravṛttivādins* who believed in making the best of the world here may be regarded as the materialists of India. Such people have existed at all times, and probably in the development of the fine arts and the subjects like *Kāmaśāstra* their influence was not negligible. For others, *nivṛtti* or renunciation of worldly desires was the supreme object of existence. Students studying in the Buddhist monasteries were, according to I-tsing,

---

[1] v. 7.

divided into the two categories, the monks and the lay students, and naturally enough their courses of studies also differed. Those white-robed (laymen) who went to the residence of a priest, and read chiefly Buddhist scriptures with the intention that they might one day become tonsured and blackrobed, were called 'children' (*māṇava*). Those who came (to a priest) to learn secular literature only, without having any intention of quitting the world, were called students (*brahmacārins*).[1] For a Vedāntin, *nivṛtti* generally came later in life, after he had finished his duty as a householder, and was preceded by *vairāgya*, i.e., disgust for worldly things. Jainism, which taught to proceed by stages to *nivṛtti* provided both for secular and religious education.[2]

But as most people live their full life in the world, while not rejecting the interests of life hereafter, it is the school of Kauṭilya, Kāmandaka and Śukra, which represents best the most accepted ideal of Indian education. In his *Arthaśāstra*, Kauṭilya, for instance, while suggesting various means for the ideal ruler's discipline declares that discipline did not mean that one should shun all enjoyments. "One should not be without pleasure; let him enjoy himself without going against the requirements of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* or let him have all the three: *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*."[3] In other words he aimed at the perfect balance of *trivarga*, for any one of these, if enjoyed too much, would lead to all round deterioration. The same ideas find expression in various other books and one is enjoined to study not only *trayī* but also *ānvīkṣikī*, *vārtā* and *daṇḍanīti* with a view to developing fully one's personality, though the stress on them differed according to one's objective.[4]

---

[1] Takakusu, p. 105.

[2] See the *Udayasundarīkathā* in *UBPK*, Prastāva, VIII, vv. 172-94. Regarding the *grhidharma* which is a preliminary to *sādhudharma* the *kathā* states: चेतः सुखासिका गुर्वी संतुष्टिः कर्मतानवम्। भवभीतेरभावश्च गृहिधर्मेण ते गुणाः। (v. 193). See also the introduction to *KMK* for a similar procedure advocated by Udyotana Sūri and our account of Jaina morality and ethics in Chapter VI.

[3] *AS*, Book I, Chap. VII. For similar remarks see also *TM*, p. 16.

[4] There were also the extremist schools preceding Kauṭilya which rejected this division, *vide*, *AS*, Book I, Chap. I. Rāja-

Objects of Education

With ideas like these, reading and writing could not be the sole objects of education. What the Hindu educationists emphasised in their theories of education were the three qualities of (i) sharpening the intellect, (ii) formation of character and (iii) the attainment of social efficiency, for they helped in the attainment of *trivarga-samanvaya*, i.e., the balance of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*. In the *Pañcatantra*, *buddhiprakāśa* or the enlightenment of intellect has been described as a desired object of education.[1] According to Yuan Chwang, too, Indian teachers were always keen to inculcate the spirit of activity among the inert disciples and tried to sharpen the wits of the dull.[2]

Formation of character was an objective throughout. During the period of studentship a life of strict discipline and morality has been prescribed in the socio-religious literature of India. Śukra similarly states that, though learning comes through discipline, discipline itself is to be attained through the dictates of *Śāstric* precepts which can be learnt by him alone who has controlled his senses.[3] And the same fact is stressed by Bhartṛhari and Bāṇa.[4]

śekhara discusses the question of the number of *vidyās*. According to him the school of Manu regarded philosophy as a mere sub-division of Vedas and thus recognised only the three *vidyās*. The school of Bṛhaspati rejected vedic authority. They had also no belief in philosophy. The Vedas according to them helped worldly people in disguising their sordid motives. So there could only be two sciences, viz., *vārtā* and *daṇḍanīti*. The followers of Auśanasa went a step further. They believed that there could be no science besides that of Government for on it depended the operation of all other sciences. Kauṭilya, though a great realist as Bṛhaspati and Śukra, defended the old theories of four *vidyās*, *vide*, *KM*, p. 4.

[1] *Kathāmukham*, p. 5.
[2] Watters, I, p. 160.
[3] *SNS*, I. 91.
[4] Bhartṛhari says : 'If one does not acquire education full of discipline in his youth, he has wasted his life.' (*Vairāgya Śataka*, v. 46). In the *Kādambarī*, Śukanāsa warns Candrāpīḍa against the passions of senses (pp. 195-7). Elsewhere a young ascetic, finding his friend losing his self-restraint under the influence of love, reproaches him in these words, "verily all knowledge is fruitless, study of holy books is useless; initiation has lost

Making every individual an efficient member of society has similarly been one of the educators' objectives. For this the individual had to be self-reliant as well as helpful to others. For self-reliance, the education he received had to be lucrative (*arthakārī*). "*Vidyā*," states a verse of *Nītiśataka*, "indeed, is the highest ornament that a man possesses. It is a valuable thing to be carefully guarded, for it gains food, glory and blessing. It is the lord of lords; a friend of a man travelling in a distant land and is honoured among kings even more than wealth. A man devoid of education and wisdom is nothing but a beast."[1] A man who carried his own livelihood was not a burden upon his family and society. Hereditary division of labour, as embodied in the caste system, did much to accomplish this purpose, for the child from the very beginning, was trained in the branch of learning for which he possessed a traditional aptitude and which could be taught most easily.[2]

Primary Education

According to I-tsing, child's education began at the age of six.[3] Primary education chiefly consisted in the counting of numbers, the knowledge of alphabets and grammar. The first primer, which probably dealt with the alphabets, is called by Yuan Chwang "The Twelve Chapters." After mastering it the child was introduced to any one of the five recognised sciences.[4] According to I-tsing the first book for beginners was called the *Si-tan-chang*. It is translated by Takakusu as *Siddhirastu*, meaning by that "Be there success."[5] In the *Siddha* composition, says I-tsing, "there

---

its meaning, pondering over the teaching of *gurus* avails not, proficiency is worthless, learning leads to naught, since even men like you are stained by the touch of passion and overcome by folly." (pp. 275-6).

[1] v. 16.

[2] For the society as a whole, the individual worked through the *varṇāśrama* scheme and by realising that he had a threefold debt to pay. All schools of thought laid emphasis on these facts in their educational curriculum.

[3] Takakusu, p. 172. Candrāpīḍa, the hero of *Kādambarī*, was admitted to school at the age of six (*Kād.*, p. 153). Similar is the instance of Prince Harivāhana in *TM*, p. 64.

[4] Watters, Vol. I, p. 154. See also footnote No. 1, on p. 29.

[5] Takakusu, p. 170. Watters identifies the 'Twelve Chapters' with 'Si-tan-chang.'

are forty-nine letters (of the alphabets) which are combined with one another and arranged in eighteen sections, the total number of syllables is more than 10,000, or more than 300 *ślokas*. Generally speaking, each *śloka* contains four feet (*pādas*), each foot consisting of eight syllables; each *śloka* has therefore thirty-two syllables."[1] It was noticed also by Alberuni, about three centuries after I-tsing, that the *Siddha-mātṛkā* alphabet was used in Kashmir, Benaras and Madhyadeśa and was thus common to the whole of Northern India.[2]

After finishing the first composition which took about six months' time[3] the child had to learn an elementary course of grammar which extended over a number of years. It began with the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini which formed the foundation of the whole grammatical science. It consisted of 1,000 *ślokas* and could be completed in eight months' time.[4] I-tsing, however, does not seem to include in it the *Dhātupāṭha* and the *Uṇādi* sections of Pāṇini, for which he refers to separate books. Therefore, Pāṇini's *Sūtras* simply mean the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* proper to him. The second book of grammar also consisted of 1,000 *ślokas*, explaining the rules of the formation of the grammatical roots (*dhātus*) and was as essential as the first.[5] Next was the book on the "Three-Khilas." The word *khilas*, according to I-tsing, means the "waste land". This part of grammar was so called because it might be "likened to the way in which a farmer prepares his fields for corn." I-tsing also, therefore, liked to call it "a book on the three pieces of waste land" which, according to him, were (i) Aṣṭadhātu, (ii) Wen-cha (*mand* or *munda*) and (iii) Uṇādi, each consisting of 1,000 verses.[6] Students began the study of the book of "Three Khilas" at the age of ten and were thorough in it after three years of diligent

---

[1] ibid., p. 171. It is sometimes doubted whether the *Si-tan-chang* was "an ordinary spelling-book with which children begin their school education even today or was it an elementary grammar which deals with the letters of combination, etc.", *vide*, *ITCE* by Dr. Sen, p. 1.

[2] Sachau, Vol. I, p. 173.

[3] Takakusu, p. 172.

[4] ibid.

[5] ibid.

[6] ibid.

study.[1] The period of about sixteen months intervening between the end of the first book and the beginning of the third would have naturally been devoted to the study of the book *dhātu*. It may thus be reasonably held that the students were able to learn thoroughly the whole of Pāṇini's work during a period of five years.

After a thorough study of Pāṇini, a student had to undertake the study of one more book of grammar as a part of his education. It was the *Vṛtti-Sūtras* or the *Kāśikāvṛtti*. It is a commentary on the Pāṇini's Sūtras.[2] Jayāditya, the author of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, was "a man of great ability and his literary power was very striking. He understood things which he had heard once, not requiring to be taught twice." He had died only thirty years before I-tsing wrote. After studying it students could begin with prose, poetry or any other science.[3]

Subjects of Higher Studies

Traditionally, as pointed above, the number of *vidyās* was four *ānvīkṣikī* (philosophy), *trayī* (the sacred Vedas), *vārtā* (agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade) and *daṇḍanīti* (politics). Rājaśekhara adds one more science, that is the *sāhityavidyā* (science of literature) to the traditional four, for every branch of learning through which one might attain *dharma* and *artha* should merit, according to him, the title of *vidyā*.[4]

The four traditional sciences were further sub-divided into the fourteen, eighteen, or the thirty-two *vidyās*. The fourteen *vidyās* included the four Vedas, six Vedāṅgas and the four Śāstras, to wit, the Purāṇas, Ānvīkṣikī, Mīmāṁsā and Smṛtis.[5] The four more *vidyās* of *vārtā*, *kāmasūtra*, *śilpaśāstra* and *daṇḍanīti* being added to them, their number reached eighteen.[6] Śukra further piled up their number to thirty-two.[7] According to him the number of *vidyās* is endless and they cannot be counted, but the most important of them are thirty-two.[8]

---

[1] ibid., p. 175.
[2] ibid.
[3] ibid., p. 176.
[4] *KM*, p. 4.
[5] ibid., p. 3.
[6] ibid., p. 4.
[7] *SNS*, IV. 267-71.
[8] *SNS*, IV. 264.

In the seventh century, according to Yuan Chwang, there were five standard sciences. "The first science," he says, "is grammar, which teaches and explains words, and classifies their distinctions. The second is that of skilled professions (concerned with) the principles of the mechanical arts, the dual processes, and astrology. The third is the science of medicine (embracing) exercising charms, medicine, the use of the stone, the needle, *moxa*. The fourth is the science of reasoning by which the orthodox and the heterodox are ascertained, and the true and the false are thoroughly sought out. The fifth is the science of the Internal which investigates and teaches the five degrees of religious attainments (*lit.*, the five vehicles) and the subtle doctrine of *karma*."[1] In the Indian terminology the five sciences can respectively be named as *śabdavidyā* or *vyākaraṇa*, *śilpasthāna* and *jyotiṣavidyā*, *cikitsāvidyā*, *hetuvidyā* and *adhyātmavidyā*. The inclusion of *śilpasthāna*, *jyotiṣavidyā* and *cikitsāvidyā* in the list of the standard sciences shows that there was a good scope also for the professional and useful education in the early Indian system of education.

The major sciences were further sub-divided into a number of branches each of which required a specialised learning and training. Haribhadra Sūri, for instance, speaks of the eighty-nine branches of learning. The list, exhaustive as it is, shows the great degree of specialisation reached by the ancient Indians in the domain of the intellectual and educational achievements. Besides the subjects which may be grouped under the heads of the major sciences, the list includes many *kalās* or arts.[2]

Course of Buddhist Studies

Chinese pilgrims who visited India with a view to learn the true religion of Tathāgata had noted *inter alia* something about the course of Buddhist studies at their times. According to I-tsing, every monk belonging to either school, Mahāyāna or Hīnayāna, was taught two Mātṛceta's hymns after he could recite the five and ten precepts of *śīla*.[3] As the precepts were to be observed

---

[1] Watters, I, p. 155.
[2] The list is given in Appendix III.
[3] Takakusu, pp. 156, 157.

in accordance with the *vinaya* rules a thorough knowledge of the latter was essential for one with a mind set on priesthood. The *vinaya* rules form one of the three divisions of the Buddhist *Tripiṭakas* (three baskets), the two other divisions being of *Abhidharma* and *Sūtra*. A thorough study of the three divisions was compulsory for one willing to learn the doctrine of "existence and non-existence."[1] A monk who had studied even one of the three sections was received with great honour in a monastery.[2]

The *Tripiṭakas* belonging to the Āryamahāsaṅghika Nikāya contained 1,00,000 stanzas each, i.e., 3,00,000 in all. The total number of stanzas of the *Tripiṭakas* belonging to the Āryasthavira and Āryamūlasarvāstivāda Nikāyas were also the same but that of the Āryasammatīya school was 2,00,000, thirty thousand *ślokas* of which were devoted to the *vinaya*.[3] While studying the *Abhidharma* one had necessarily to read through the six *pādas*, i.e., the six different treatises on metaphysics of the Sarvāstivāda school[4], and while learning the *Āgamas* or *Sūtras* one was expected to investigate the principles of the four Nikāyas. These *Āgamas* are (i) *Dīrghāgama*, (ii) *Madhyamāgama*, (*iii*) *Saṁyuktāgama*, and (iv) *Ekottarāgama*.[5]

In order to be proficient in the doctrine of the *Yogacaryā Śāstra*, a Buddhist had to study Asaṅga's following eight *Śastras*[6] :

1. *Vidyāmātra-viṁśati-(gāthā)-śāstra* or *Vidyāmātrasiddhi*.
2. *Vidyāmātrasiddhi-tridaśa-śāstra-kārikā*.
3. *Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstramūla*.
4. *Abhidharma (saṅgīti)-śāstra*.
5. *Madhyāntavibhāga-śāstra*.
6. *Nidāna-śāstra*.
7. *Sūtrālaṁkāra-ṭīkā*.
8. *Karma-siddha-śāstra*.

If one excelled in the world of Buddhist logic (*hetuvidyā*) he had to attain a mastery in the eight scriptures ascribed to Jina. The eight scriptures are[7] :

---

[1] ibid., p. 184.
[2] ibid., p. 64.
[3] ibid., pp. 7-8.
[4] ibid., p. 187.
[5] ibid.
[6] ibid., p. 186.
[7] ibid.

1. The Sāstra on the meditation on the Three Worlds.
2. *Sarvalakṣaṇādhyayana-śāstra* (*kārikā*)
3. The Śāstra on the meditation on the object. Probably *Ālambanapratyadhyāna-śāstra.*
4. The Śāstra on the gate of the cause (*hetudvāra*).
5. The Śāstra on the gate of the resembling cause.
6. The *Nyāyadvāra* (*tarka*)-*śāstra.*
7. *Prajñapti-hetu-saṅgraha-śāstra.*
8. The Śāstra on the grouped inferences.

Besides this vast literature, Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* was also popular or rather compulsorily studied by the community of Brethren.[1] It was only after having learnt all these scriptures that a priest would successfully be able to defend the doctrine against the criticism of others.[2]

Education for Brahmanas

In the earlier part of the period Brāhmaṇas were especially devoted to the study of the Vedas and allied literature. Bāṇa, for instance, studied the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas along with the other Śāstras[3], and as to what these Śāstras were we can have some idea from the description of his four cousins who are said to have studied and taught not only the four Vedas but also Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, *Mahābhārata*, Itihāsa, Kāvya and Karmakāṇḍa.[4] In the Gupta grants of the 7th and 8th centuries many donees bear the title of Dvivedins, Trivedins and Caturvedins, denoting thereby that they were well versed in two, three or four Vedas.

The Vedas continued to be studied to the end of the period, but not always very intelligently. Alberuni remarks that the Brāhmaṇas recited the Vedas without understanding its meaning, and in the same way they learnt it by heart, the one receiving it from the other. Only a few learnt its explanation and fewer still mastered its contents and interpretation to such an extent as to be able to hold a theological disputation.[5]

Brāhmaṇas who entered the royal service, probably studied other subjects also. In the *Daśakumāra-carita* we find a Brāhmaṇa

---

[1] ibid., p. 166.
[2] ibid., p. 186.
[3] *HC*, II, p. 79.
[4] *HC*, III, pp. 86-7.
[5] Sachau, Vol. I, p. 125.

youth fit for the king's service because besides having the traditional knowledge of Vedic literature, logic, Purāṇas, Itihāsa, Mīmāṁsā, poetry, dramas and tales, he was an adept in the sixty-four *kalās*, had specialised in the art of controlling elephants, chariot-driving and horse-riding, and was highly efficient in fighting and the use of various weapons.[1] King's ministers who were generally Brāhmaṇas were expected to be well-versed in the science of politics.[2]

Education for the Princes and the Ksatriyas

The education of a prince was a subject which demanded the attention of every political thinker of ancient India. Both Kauṭilya[3] and Śukra[4] required their ideal ruler to be taught all the four traditional sciences, though special stress in their case was to be on the science of politics (*daṇḍanīti*). He was to be proficient in the use of different weapons of war like bow, discus, sword, *śakti*, spear, mace, etc. and in certain *kalās* such as chariot-driving, horse-riding, elephant-riding, swimming, jumping, climbing, etc.[5]

---

[1] *DKC*, VI, pp. 147-8.

[2] In the *Kādambarī*, Kumārapāla, a Brāhmaṇa minister of Śūdraka is compared with Bṛhaspati, as far as his knowledge of *daṇḍanīti* was concerned (*Kād.*, p. 26). The intellect of another Brāhmaṇa minister Śukanāsa is said to have become mature by the mastery of all *sāstras* and *kalās* and the application of the *nītiśāstra* (ibid., p. 113).

[3] *AS*, Book I, Chaps. II-IV. [4] *SNS*, I. 151, 156.

[5] See the following literary descriptions:

(*a*) Harṣa was more delighting in the bow than Droṇa and more unerring with the arrow than Aśvatthāma (*HC*, Chap. II, p. 76).

(*b*) Upon his stout forearm Kumāragupta of Mālwā was marked by the bowstring's scar (*HC*, Chap. IV, p. 138).

(*c*) King Tārāpīḍa of Ujjainī was well-versed in both Nītiśāstra and Dharmaśāstra (*Kād.*, p. 107).

(*d*) King Śūdraka of Vidiśā was a master of all *śāstras* and the originator of all *kalās* (ibid., pp. 12-13).

(*e*) "With the help of their respective teachers the Rājakumāras (the prince Rājavāhana and his nine companions) learnt every art; they became expert in writing all kinds of alphabets and were fluent speakers of all the languages; they attained proficiency in the knowledge of the Vedas with

Hunting was a ruler's favourite sport.[1] In his long and graphic description of Candrāpīḍa's education, Bāṇa perhaps presented his own ideal of a prince's education.[2]

Education for Vaiśyas.

Education which might help in accumulating wealth through trade, agriculture and cattle-breeding, was naturally desirable for a Vaiśya. It is pointed out by Medhātithi that a Vaiśya should know in what time of the year and in what part of the country an article of trade fetched a higher price than in another. To have the full profits of merchandise it was essential for him to be acquainted with (1) the excellences and defects of commodities, i.e., 'this article if kept for a long time becomes spoilt', 'this is lasting' and 'that is not;' and (ii) to know the advantages and disadvantages relating to countries, i.e., 'in this country, large supplies of grain are available,' 'at this time barley is profuse,' 'Such and such is the custom of this country,' 'the nature of the people is so and so.' To have a good harvest he was to know the good and bad qualities of both seeds and soils, i.e., 'this seed shall grow in this soil and not that seed.' As to cattle-breeding he was expected to know such rules as by 'using such and such fodder and giving such and such salts, cattle flourish better and so forth.'[3]

---

their six auxiliaries and of poetry, dramatic art, legends, narratives and the Purāṇas with diverse tales; they grew conversant with the Smṛtis, Grammar, Astrology, Logic, Mimāṁsā, as well as with the intricacies of political science as taught by Cāṇakya and Kāmandaka. They learnt to play upon lutes and all other musical instruments and gained excellence in music and poetics, as well as in the use of gems with medicinal virtue, spells, medicine and magic; they skilfully controlled horses, elephants and chariots and deftly handled various weapons and knew to perfection the arts of thieving, gambling and other such practices" (*DKC*, pp. 21-22, translated by M. R. Kale).

(*f*) In the *Uttararāmacarita*, Bhavabhūti's account of *Kṣatriya brahmacārīs* makes it evident that the princes were taught warfare along with other sciences during the period of their stay with the teacher (Act V. *vv*. 2-3).

[1] *Kād*., 189; *SNS*, I. 331-2.

[2] Appendix IV.

[3] *Medhātithi on Manu*, IX. 329-31.

Śukra advises a merchant never to transact any business without documents.[1] Therefore the keeping of accounts was also to be learnt by every trader. In the *Bhaviṣyatkathā*, the son of a Jaina merchant is said to have learnt Jaina scriptures, grammar lexicography, astronomy and many practical arts like wrestling, archery, the science of horses and elephants and other similar arts.[2] But the account seems conventional.

Education For Śudras

Direct information regarding the education of the Śūdras during the period of study is rather scanty. Yājñavalkya had stated that a Śūdra with the qualities of *vidyā* (education), *karma* (action), *dhana* (wealth), etc. was entitled to respect in his old age.[3] He also laid down the rule that a Śūdra who did not live by service of the *dvijas* (the twice-born) could take up the work of a Vaṇik (merchant), i.e., agriculture, trade and money-lending on interest, etc.[4] This must have naturally needed some education. Like Vaiśyas they may have learnt a few languages and perhaps also principles of banking. Later also a Śūdra had the same right, for Devala stated that a Śūdra's duties included agriculture, domestication ot animals, carrying loads, selling and buying things, painting, dancing, singing, playing on *muraja* (a kettledrum), *mṛdaṅga* (tabor), etc.[5] From these statements we may infer that the Śūdras formed not only the bulk of labouring classes and artisans but also that some of them possessed a highly developed aesthetic sense and probably had knowledge enough of Sanskrit to understand the rules laid down in books on sculpture, architecture, painting, engineering, etc. For most of them, however, the only school was probably their family where they mastered their hereditary arts, without caring much for academic education.

Some of the Śūdras rose to the position of the kings.[6] So they, as rulers of their domains, may have studied the sciences of

---

[1] *SNS*, III. 181-2.
[2] *BK*, II, 2 (notes on p. 12).
[3] *Yāj. S.*, I. 116.
[4] ibid., I. 120. For similar rules see also *Śaṁ. S.* (I. 5), *Atri Saṁhitā* (I.5) and *Parāśara S.* (I. 68).
[5] Devala quoted in the Mitākṣarā commentary on *Yāj.*, I. 120.
[6] See above, the Chapter on "Caste System."

statecraft and administration. In the Buddhist educational institutions caste was not a bar to religious education. Among Tantric teachers, many were Śūdras.[1]

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

1. Brahmanical Schools

It is obvious from Bāṇa that education was mainly provided by (1) schools run by Brāhmaṇa householders, (2) the hermitages or *maṭhas* and (3) educational assemblies. Speaking about his own educational carreer, Bāṇa states tha the attained the intellectual standard befitting his family by paying respect to the schools of the wise, by attending the assemblies of the learned and by joining the circle of people proficient in their own lines.[2] And that this was the course that he enjoined others also to follow is obvious from the questions he asked his brothers, after his return from Harṣa's court. He enquired whether the students were regularly taught the Vedas and they had their usual discussion on grammar, logic, Mīmāṁsā, and other authoritative books.[3]

Private Brāhmanical schools like those of Bāna were encouraged also by ruling monarchs and private individuals by granting lands. Bāṇa, for instance, resided in a village of learned Brāhmaṇa colonists, called Prītikūṭa.[4] Inscriptions record many instances of *brahmadeya* lands, free from all State taxes and enjoying in addition many immunities, granted by the State. King Yaśaskara of Kashmir is credited with having made a gift of fifty-five *agrahāras* equipped with all sorts of material resources.[5]

2. The Hermitages and *Maṭhas*

The forest hermitages of sages were not of less educational value. Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* refers to the hermitage of Jāvāli.[6] Though it may have existed in the mind of the author alone, the details he gives of it are probably taken from life. The existence of Buddhist hermitages, as parallel to Brāhmaṇical ones, is attested to

---

[1] See the Appendix No. VII.
[2] *HC*, I, pp. 42-43.
[3] *HC*, III, p. 84.
[4] *HC*, I, p. 43.
[5] *RT*, VI, 89.
[6] *Kād.*, p. 79.

by the life of Yuan Chwang and the *Harṣacarita*. The Buddhist teacher Jayasena was highly learned in *Hetuvidyā* (logic), *Śabda-vidyā* (grammar) and *Yogaśāstra*, and had studied thoroughly the Vedas, astronomy, geography, medicine, magic and arithmetic. When Yuan Chwang met him he was residing on a hill called Yaṣṭivana, surrounded by his disciples and pupils.[1] Divākaramitra's hermitage was attended not only by Buddhists, but also by rhe people of many other faiths and countries who assembled there to have a better idea of their own tenets by entering into various discussions.[2]

Schools in temples or *maṭhas* may have been a copy of the Buddhist schools attached to Buddhist *vihāras*. Kalhaṇa has recorded that king Yaśaskara of Kashmir built a *maṭha* for the students of Āryadeśa who went there in quest of learning.[3] According to Kṣemendra the students of Bengal went over to Kashmir to receive education in the *maṭhas*.[4] It shows that the *maṭhas* in Kashmir were the sacred homes of high learning.

3. Gosthis or Assemblies

Goṣṭhīs were groups of friends, all experts in any subject like poetry, music and fine-arts, meeting and discussing their subject in a formal manner. *Pariṣadas* were more serious in their function.[5] Grand Assembly at Kannauj, convened by Harṣa, was attended by "the kings of eighteen countries of five Indies; three thousand priests thoroughly acquainted with the Great and Little

---

[1] Beal, p. 156. The four great Buddhist scholars of I-tsing's period were Jñānacandra of Magadha; Ratnasiṅgha of Nālandā, Divākaramitra in Eastern India and Tathāgatabhadra in the Southernmost district. Takakusu, p. 184.

[2] *HC*, VIII, pp. 236-7.

[3] *RT*, VI. 87.

[4] *Deśopadeśa*, Chap. VI. *TM* also says that 'क्षणमात्रप्रवृत्तयइच्छालापरमणीयासूत्तिष्ठन्तीषु विद्यामठव्याख्यानमण्डलीषु"—p. 55.

[5] वेदवेदाऽङ्गविदुषां धर्मशास्त्रं विजानताम् ।
स्वकर्मरतविप्राणां स्वकं पापं निवेदयेत् ॥२॥
अव्रतानाममन्त्राणां जातिमात्रोपजीविनाम् ।
सहस्रशः समेतानां परिषत्त्वं न विद्यते ॥४॥
अज्ञात्वा धर्मशास्त्राणि प्रायश्चित्तं ददाति यः ।
प्रायश्चित्ती भवेत् पूतः किल्विषं पर्षदि व्रजेत् ॥६॥ *Parāśara S.*, VIII.

vehicles, besides about three thousand Brāhmaṇas and Nirgranthas and about a thousand priests of Nālandā monastery. All these noted persons, celebrated alike for their literary skill, as much for their dialectic, attended the assembly with a view to consider and listen to the sounds of law."[1] Yuan Chwang who presided over the meeting expounded the teaching of the Great Vehicle and is said to have declared that if there was any one who could find a single word in the proposition contrary to reason, then at the request of the opponent he was ready to offer his head as a recompense.[2]

Bāṇa speaks of the *vidyā-goṣṭhīs* in Harṣa's Court in which discussions were held on a variety of subjects and which were attended by several scholars of high learning.[3] Harṣa himself greatly delighted also in the *vīragoṣṭhīs* in which the heroic deeds of some great hero or warrior were perhaps narrated.[4] In the *Kādambarī*, King Śūdraka's assembly of *paṇḍits* and friends composed poems in diverse metres, talked about scriptures, read out stories, histories and Purāṇas, and solved puzzles.[5]

Kāvya-goṣṭhīs have been described by Rājaśekhra. He calls them as one of the various sources of *kāvyavidyā*. In a hall specially constructed for the occasion, the poets of different languages and the artists were to occupy their proper seats. The king probably presided and started the group discussion. The poets whose works were regarded as the best were honoured by the king with the award of prices. The successful candidates were taken out in a procession round the city and rewarded with the gift of a royal belt, etc., as an insignia of their success. Of poets, grammarians, and other literati thus honoured by kings, Rājaśekhara mentions Kālidāsa, Bhartṛhari, Amara, Rūpa, Āryasūra, Bhāravi, Hariścandra, Candragupta, Upavarṣa, Varṣa, Pāṇini, Piṅgala, Vyāḍi, Vararuci and Patañjali.[6]

The practice of holding similar meetings was common among Buddhist brothers as well. By having debates and discussions on

---

[1] Beal, p. 177.
[2] ibid.
[3] *HC*, I, p. 7; II, p. 56.
[4] *HC*, II, p. 71.
[5] p. 14.
[6] *KM*, pp. 54-55.

religious questions their intellectual standards could easily be tested. Thus men of moral character were brought into prominence and really intelligent persons were further promoted. Those monks who distinguished themselves as prominent by bringing forward the five points in philosophy and by giving subtle principles their proper place, were mounted on a richly caprisoned elephant and were followed by a host of attendants.[1]

4. Tours and Travels

The ancient Indians were in no way ignorant of the educative value of tours and travels. A man, according to Dāmodaragupta, going round the land girded by the sea, could learn with profit the essence of all *śāstras*, all about the rascals and the tricksters' ways of cheating the people.[2] A man devoid of the knowledge of the dress, manners and speeches of the people of other countries was, according to him, an ox without horns.[3] Siddharṣisūri also put the same idea a bit differently. A man, according to him, who did not go out to behold the land full of many wonders was simply like a frog of the well (i.e., a man of very limited experience).[4] Many early Indian poets, according to Rājaśekhara, travelled in foreign countries and they benefited their own countrymen by utilising their experience in those foreign lands, in their literary compositions.[5] Rājaśekhara himself seems to have been a much travelled poet.[6] To wander through the whole country was also essential for a good king and his administrators.[7]

FAMOUS CENTRES OF LEARNING

With the rise of the monastic system of the Buddhists there evolved a better organised system of education than in the private schools run by the individual Brāhmaṇa *paṇḍits*. This is why some of the Buddhist monasteries succeeded in developing themselves into

---

[1] Watters, I, p. 162.
[2] *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, v. 215.
[3] ibid., 211.
[4] *UBPK*, p. 531 (Bombay ed.).
[5] *KM*, pp. 12, 78.
[6] It is evident from his description of the dress, manners and speeches etc., of the people of different parts of India.—*KM*, pp. 8, 9 & 34.
[7] *SNS*, III, pp. 125-6.

big universities attracting students not only from all corners of India but also from many distant countries like China, Tibet, Korea, etc. During the period of study there were three such universities which were highly reputed for their academic standards and achievements. Nālandā was a centre of educational activity in the eastern part of the country, about forty miles south of Patna. Valabhī was flourishing in Kathiawar in the w est and Vikramaśīla in Bengal.

Nalanda

At the time of Yuan Chwang's and I-tsing's visits both Nālandā and Valabhī were at the highest peak of their glory. Foreign students came to Nālandā "to put an end to their doubts and thus became celebrated and those who stole the name (of Nālandā brothers) were all treated with respect wherever they went."[1] When I-tsing visited Nālandā the numb er of priests exceeded even three thousand.[2] Though the monastery of Nālandā was Mahāyānic its curriculum was catholic and non-sectarian. The biographer of Yuan Chwang stat es that Nālandā students "study the great vehicle and also the eighteen schools and not only so but even ordinary works such as the Vedas and other books, the *hetuvidyā* (logic), *śabdavidyā* (grammar), the *cikitsāvidyā* (medical sceince), the works on magic (*Atharvavedā*), the Sāṅkhya (a system of Hindu philosophy); besides these they thoroughly investigate the miscellaneous works."[3] The strength of the teaching staff was 1,510 in all, one thousand of whom could explain fifty collections of Sūtras and including Yuan Chwang thirty could explain the ten collections. Śīlabhadra who was the abbot of the monastery alone had mastered the whole number.[4] About one thousand professors delivered lectures every day on a variety of subjects and the students attended them without failing even for a minute.[5] According to the Tibetan sources there were also three big libraries attached to the university. Their names were Ratnasāgara, Ratnodadhi and Ratna-rañjaka.[6]

---

[1] Watters, II, p. 165.
[2] Takakusu, p. 154.
[3] Beal, p. 112.
[4] ibid.
[5] ibid.
[6] *History of Indian Logic* by Vidya Bhushan, p. 516.

Vàlabhi

Valabhī was an equally famous centre of learning functioning in the western part of India. In the middle of the seventh century there were about one hundred Buddhist monasteries with six thousand brethren, all adherents of the Hīnayāna system.[1] Though Valabhī university was a famous seat of the Hīnayānists, it must have imparted adequate coaching in Mahāyāna philosophy and other secular subjects such as *nīti*, *vārtā*, *kāmaśāstra*, etc.; otherwise the graduates of Valabhī could not secure appointments to the practical government jobs, nor they could successfully refute rival doctrines.[2] According to I-tsing, in both the centres, Nālandā and Valabhī, the eminent and accomplished scholars used to assemble in crowds and hold discussions on "possible and impossible" doctrines. The debaters whose excellence of opinions was approved by distinguished wise men became "far-famed for their wisdom."[3] Sthiramati and Guṇamati, the two renowned scholars associated with Valabhī by Yuan Chwang, were the authors of several treatises which were in great vogue and were highly valued by their contemporaries.[4]

Vikramaśila

Tibetan sources tell us something about the Vikramśīla monastery. King Dharmapāla (of 8th century), the founder of the university, liberally endowed it and constructed big halls.[5] The university maintained uninterrupted connection with Tibet up to the thirteenth century. Its curriculum does not seem to have been as wide as that of Nālandā and Valabhī. It specialised in grammar, logic, metaphysics, Tantras and ritualism.[6]

We have no record of any seat of Hindu learning as famous as Nālandā and Valabhī, and even if there were any, they were probably destroyed by Muslim invaders. Hindu sciences as testified by Alberuni retired far away from those parts of the country

---

[1] Watters, II, p. 246. [2] Takakusu, p. 177.
[3] ibid. [4] Watters, II, p. 246.
[5] The monastery was so named by Dharmapāla after his own epithet of Vikramaśīladeva.
[6] Bose, *Indian Teachers of the Buddhist Universities*, pp. 30, 47 & 61; S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. 58.

which fell under the Muslim sway and Hindu scholars fled to the safer places like Banaras, Kashmir and other centres.[1]

LITERARY ACTIVITIES

(a) Kavyas and Natakas

Part of the literary activity was centred, as before, in the royal courts of Northern India. Harṣavardhana himself a great poet and dramatist encouraged literary activities throughout his dominions. His dramas are known to have been actually staged.[2] Dhāvaka[3] is traditionally believed to have been given the same honour at his court as Bāṇa and Mayūra, the well-known writers of the *Kādambarī* and *Harṣacarita*[4], and the *Mayūraśataka*[5], respectively. To the Buddhist scholar Jayasena of Orissa he granted the revenue of eighty large towns.[6] Interested in the problems of Indian philosophy he had discussions at his court. The Kannauj Assembly in which Yuan Chwang participated and had to face the questions of Brāhmaṇas was perhaps only one of the many assemblies of similar type held during his reign.[7] Sometimes

---

[1] Sachau, I, p. 22.

[2] The three Sanskrit plays *Ratnāvali*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Nāgānanda* are ascribed to Harṣa. His authorship of Nāgānanda is testified to by I-tsing also who states that the king "had it performed by a band accompanied by singing and acting and popularised it in his time" (Takakusu, p. 164). That the *Ratnāvalī* was also actually staged is evident by the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* of Dāmodaragupta who refers to an instance of it being staged in the temple of Viśvanātha at Vārāṇasī (*Kuṭṭanīmatam*, vv. 882 ff.).

[3] Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* says that "श्रीहर्षादेर्बाणा (धावका) दीनामिव धनम् —*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* by Dr. M. Krishnamachariar, p. 585.

[4] Bāṇa has earned a name as the greatest prose writer of Sanskrit. Of his two extant *gadyakāvyas*, the *Harṣacarita* is a historical *kāvya* dealing with Harṣa's life-history up to his attempts to dissuade his sister from self-immolating herself in the Vindhya forests, and the *Kādambarī* is a prose romance, whose philosophical meaning has also been suggested by Dr. V.S. Agrawala in his book, *Kādambarī, Ek Sāmskṛtika Adhyayana*.

[5] It is a compilation of 100 stanzas in the glory of Sun, and is known as *Mayūraśataka* after the name of its author.

[6] Beal, *Life of Hieun Tsiang*, p. 154.

[7] ibid., pp. 160 ff.

the controversies in these assemblies ran very high. On one occasion a professor of the Lokāyata sect, who were known as extreme materialists, wrote out forty theses and hung them at the gate of Nālanda College with the notice, "If any one can refute a single article he may cut off my head to proclaim his victory."[1] Yuan Chwang accepted the challenge and defeated his adversary in a public disputation but spared his head and made him his disciple.[2]

Suprabhadeva, the grandfather of Māgha, the writer of the great poem *Śiśupālavadha*, was the chief minister of Mahārāja Varmalāṭa of Vasantgadh in Rajasthan. Māgha himself might have adorned the court of one of his successors.[3] Bhaṭṭi, the author of the *Rāvaṇavadha*, was in the court of the Maitrakas of Valabhī.[4] Both the writers wrote very good poetry though it is poetry of the period when Sanskrit had ceased to be the language of the people and people prided themselves on their skill in the use of various *śabdālaṅkāras*.

In the next century we come to the court of Yaśovarman of Kannauj who patronised the great poet and dramatist Bhava-

---

[1] Saint Hilare, *Hioun Tsang in India*, p. 31.

[2] ibid., p. 33.

[3] Mahārāja Varamalāṭa ruled in the first quarter of the 7th cen. (Vasantgadh Inscription of Varmalāṭa, v. s. 682, *EI*, IX, p. 191). Māgha can, therefore, be placed about 50 years after Suprabhadeva. His only *Kāvya*, *Śiśupālavadha*, describes in the twenty cantos the story of Yuddhiṣṭhira's *Rājasūyayajña* and the death of Śiśupāla the Cedi prince, at the hands of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The descriptions of mountains, ocean, morning and evening scenes and the different seasons are specially interesting. Indian *paṇḍits* regard him as a poet greater than Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Daṇḍin as they say that :

उपमा कालिदासस्य भारवेरर्थगौरवम् ।
दण्डिनः पदलालित्यं माघे सन्ति त्रयोगुणाः ॥

[4] *Rāvaṇavadha* also known as *Bhaṭṭikāvya* after the name of its author is a long poem divided into twenty cantos. Bhaṭṭi's main aim in writing it was to illustrate the rules of Pāṇini's grammar as he says that दीपतुल्यः प्रबन्धोऽयं शब्द-लक्षण चक्षुषाम् ॥ हस्ताऽमर्ष इवाऽन्धानां भवेद् व्याकरणाट्टते ॥ IV, IX. 33, p. 478. An inscription of Śrī Dhruvasena III of the G.E. 334 refers to a land grant to a Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, who is perhaps identical with our poet.—*EI*, I, p. 86.

bhūti[1] and Vākpatirāja[2] and perhaps himself compiled a work called *Rāmābhyudaya*.[3]

In Kashmir the literary activity abounded to such an extent that it came to be regarded a *Śāradādeśa*, i.e., a country of Sarasvatī. Dāmodaragupta wrote his *Kuṭṭanīmatam-kāvya* in the reign of Jayāpīḍa (A.D. 832-44).[4] Jayāpīḍa's *sabhāpati* Udbhaṭa was a great Sanskrit poet[5] and so was Vāmana, the author of the *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra*.[6] Avantivarman (A.D. 855-83) patronised Ratnākara, Śivasvāmin, Ānandavardhana and Muktākaṇa[7], authors of *Haravijaya*, *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, *Dhvanyāloka* and *Devīśataka*, and *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā* respectively. Ratnākara had perhaps *Śiśupālavadha*

---

[1] Bhavabhūti was the author of the three Sanskrit plays, *Mālatīmādhava*, *Mahāvīracarita* and *Uttararāmacarita*. The stories of the last two are based upon Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, the former narrating Rāma's episode up to his coronation and the other dealing with Sītā's banishment, the performance of Aśvamedha sacrifice by Rāma and his battle with his own sons Lava and Kuśa. *Mālatīmadhāva's* is a love story of Mādhava, a student, with Mālatī a princess. Its theme is very much similar to the present-day stories of Indian films.

[2] Vākpatirāja was a Prākṛt poet. His *Gauḍavāho* is a long poem mainly describing the historical event of a war between Yaśovarman and the Gauḍa king in which the latter was killed. It also describes royal amusements, the dress and ornaments of royalty, superstitions and religious practices particularly of the Śāktas.

[3] Das Gupta and De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 299. The drama is cited by Ānandavardhana in the *Dhvanyāloka*, ibid.

[4] *RT*, IV. 496. In 1029 verses the poem describes the education of the courtesans, and the ways they adopted to extract money from their paramours. It deals with various other social subjects like toilet, dress, ornaments and fashionable life in an Indian town.

[5] According to Kalhaṇa (*RT*, IV. 495) Udbhaṭa was the president of the Assembly of the King and received a daily allowance of one lakh *dīnārs*. *Alaṁkārasaṁgraha* is an independent treatise on poetics written by him besides a poem *Kumārasambhava* of which a few verses quoted in the *Alaṁkārasaṁgraha* only are now available. Udbhaṭa is also believed to have written a commentary on Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, but the work is now not extant.

[6] According to Kalhaṇa the other poets of Jayāpīḍa's court were Manoratha, Śaṅkhadatta, Cataka and Saṁdhīmata (*RT*, IV. 497). But about their works, nothing important is known.

[7] ibid., *RT*, V. 34.

of Māgha as his model.[1] *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* is also interesting not only for the description of an old story, the fight between Kapphiṇa and Praṣeṇajita but also for its beautiful descriptions of nature, drinking parties, women's toilet and ornaments, etc. *Dhvanyāloka* is one of the most original works on Sanskrit poetics. Its author was the first of the writers of the *Dhvani* (sound) school.[2] In the *Devīśataka* the goddess Bhavānī or Śakti is addressed in one hundred verses. In Śaṅkaravarmana's time Bhallaṭa wrote his famous *Bhallaṭaśataka*.[3]

In the 9th century A.D. the empire of Kannauj once more revived its glory under the leadership of the imperial Pratihāras, but the new rulers appeared to have been too busy to pay much attention to literature in the beginning.[4] In the reign of Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla, however, we come to the great poet and dramatist Rājaśekhara who had an equal command on both Sanskrit and Prākṛt. Of his Sanskrit plays the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and *Bālabhārata* have come down to us. His other drama *Karpūramañjarī* is a Prākṛt *saṭṭaka* of four acts. His *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* is a valuable work on poetics discussing the chief theories of poetry such as *rasas*, *guṇas*, *alaṁkāras* (rhetoric), etc. His contemporary Ksemīśvara wrote the play *Caṇḍakauśika* for his patronking Mahīpāla.[5]

Of the Paramāras of Mālwā, Muñja and Bhoja deserve a very high place in the history of Sanskrit literature both as poets and

---

[1] *Haravijaya*, a long poem divided in fifty cantos, narrates the story of the slaying of a demon, Andhaka, by Śiva. Its descriptions of water-sports, toilet and drinking parties are specially interesting.

[2] From the *Dhvanyāloka* we learn the names of four more works of Ānandavardhana. These are *Arjunacaritamahākāvya*, *Mataparīkṣā*, *Viṣamavanalīlā* and *Harivijaya*. The first of these is in Sanskrit and the last two in Prākṛt.

[3] *RT*, V. 204.

[4] Keeping the various beautiful Sanskrit inscriptions in view, it will, however, be wrong to conclude that literature did not flourish at all in the early Pratihāra dominions. Kakkuka and Baukka of Maṇḍor seem to have been great poets.

[5] Mahīpāla is sometimes identified with the Pratihāra king of that name and sometimes with Mahīpāla of Bengal. In the former case Kṣemīśvara is to be assigned to the 9th cen. and in the latter to the 11th cen.—Dasgupta and De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 470.

patrons of poets and *paṇḍits*. Dhanapāla, Dhaneśvara Sūri and Parimala graced the court of Muñja. Dhanapāla is the writer of the *Tilakamañjarī* which, in literary beauty, according to some writers, is in no way inferior to the *Kādambarī*.[1] Parimala composed his *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* to immortalise the achievements of Bhoja's father Sindhurāja.[2] Bhoja, himself the writer of numerous works on various branches of Sanskrit literature, was a patron of many Sanskrit poets and writers.

That Sanskrit poetry was well cultivated at the royal courts of the times is proved also by the copperplates and stone-inscriptions which have come down to us. The Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bauka has a good poetic description of his heroic achievements. In its last verse the poet describes Bauka as dancing in the battlefield, placing his feet on the entrails and other parts of the dead bodies and the frightened enemies who were like deer, becoming quiet as it were with the strain, *tiṣṭha, tiṣṭha*.[3] The Gwalior *praśasti* of Bhoja by Bāläditya contains a good poetic account of the rise of the family. Its tenth verse compares Nāgabhaṭṭa II to the Sun which gave light to the world by the removal of the darkness which enveloped it in the form of the irresistible elephants, horses and boats of the lord of Vaṅga.[4] Its twelfth verse describes the winning of the lady *kīrti* (fame) by his son Rāmabhadra.[5] The eighteenth verse speaks of Bhoja's marriage with that Lakṣmī who was born not out of the *kṣīrasāgara* but out of that ocean called the forces of his enemies churned by *kula* mountain in the form of the rulers of Bhoja's race; Lakṣmī that was married to him by offering as oblations to the fire of his prowess

---

[1] Published in the *KMS*, No. XVC (85), NSP, Bombay, 1903.

[2] V. I, p. 310.

[3] ननु समरधरायां बाउके नृत्यमाने शवतनुशकलान्त्रेष्वेव विन्यस्तपादे। शममिव हि गतास्ते तिष्ठतिष्ठेति गीताद्भयगतनृकुरङ्गाश्चित्रमेतत्त-दासीत।

—*EI*, XVIII, v. 31, p. 97 ff.

[4] दुर्व्वारिवैरिवरवारणवाजिवारयानौघसंघटनघोरघनान्धकारं।
निर्ज्जित्य वङ्गपतिमाविरभूद्विस्वान्नुद्रयन्निव त्रिजगदेकविकासको यः॥

—*EI*, XVIII, p. 108.

[5] तज्जन्मा राम—
नामा प्रवरहरिबलन्यस्तभूभृत्प्रबन्धै
रावध्नन्वाहिनीनीनां प्रसभमधिपतीनुद्धतक्रूरसत्वान्।
पापाचारान्तरायप्रमथमनरुचिरैः संगतः कीर्त्तिदारैः.... ibid.

the broken heads of his enemies instead of mere fried food; Lakṣmī protected by the uncommon virtues of Bhoja which were in no way inferior to nectar; and a Lakṣmī whose issues were *dharma* and *yaśa* instead of *kāma*.[1] The use of alliterations in expressions like *viśvenāpi vidadhe vidhātari*, *śaśāsāsurāngh-rānsatoiṇāstraika*, *lilekhamukhamālokhya pratilekhyakaro*, etc. is also very effective.[2]

Of the Pāla inscriptions the Khalimpur copperplate inscription gives beautiful parallels to depict the high character of Deddādevī, the queen of Gopāla I. She is accordingly represented as similar to Rohiṇī, the wife of the moon-god; Svāhā, the wife of the fire-god; Sarvāṇṇi, the consort of Śiva; Bhadrā, the queen of Kuvera; Paulomī, the wife of Indra; and Lakṣmī the consort of Viṣṇu.[3] In the tenth verse of the Nālandā copperplate of Devapāla we have a similarly fine description of Raṇṇādevī, the mother of Devapāla.[4] The Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla gives a beautiful poetic description of the Darbar at which many kings assembled to acclaim the accession of Cakrāyudha.[5] The Monghyr plate of Devapāla represents the earth as running up to the Heaven in the form of dust raised by Dharmapāla's elephants.[6]

---

[1] यस्याभूत्कुलभूमिभृत्प्रमथनव्यस्तान्यसैन्याम्बुधे
व्यूढां च स्फुटितारिलाजनिवान्हुत्वा प्रतापानले।
गुप्ता वृद्धगुणैरनन्यगतिभिः शान्तैस्सुधोद्भासिभि —
धर्म्मापत्ययशःप्रभूतिरपरा लक्ष्मीःपुनर्भूर्न्नया ॥ v. 18, ibid.

[2] ibid., vv. 19, 22 and 23.

[3] शीतांशोरिव रोहिणी हुतभुजःस्वाहैव तेजोनिधेःशर्वाणीव शिवस्य गुह्यकपतेर्भद्रेव भद्रात्मजा। पौलोमीव पुरन्दरस्यदयिता श्री देद्दादेवीत्यभूद्देवी तस्य विनोदभूर्मुररिपोर्लक्ष्मीरिव क्षमापते : ॥ Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapāla, *EI*, IV, p. 248, v. 5.

[4] धृततनुरियं लक्ष्मीः साक्षात्क्षितिर्नु शरीरिणी। किमवनिपतेः कीर्तिर्मूर्त्ताथवा गृहदेवता। इति विदधती शुच्याचारा वितर्कवतीः प्रजाः प्रकृतिगुरुभिर्याशुद्धान्तङ्गुणैरकरोदधः ॥१०॥ Nālandā C. P. of Devapāla, *EI*, XVII, p. 319.

[5] जित्वेन्द्रराजप्रभृतीनरातीनुपार्ज्जिता येन महोदय श्री :।
दत्ता पुनः सा वलिनार्थयित्रे चक्रायुधायानत-वामनाय ॥
—*IA*, XV, p. 305.

[6] विजित्य येनाजलधेर्वसुन्धरां विमोचिता मोघपरिग्रहा इति।
सवाष्पमुदवाष्पविलोचनान् पुनर्व्वनेषु बन्धून्ददृशुर्मतङ्गजाः ॥३॥
चलत्स्वनन्तेषु बलेषु यस्य विशम्भराया निचितं रजोभिः।
पादप्रचारक्षममन्तरिक्षम्विहंगमानां सुचिरं बभूव ॥४॥
—*EI*, XVIII, p. 304.

The figures of speech (*alaṁkāras*) like simile (*upamā*), metaphor (*rūpaka*), oxymoron (*virodhābhāsa*), pun (*śleṣa*), etc. are also found in plenty in our inscriptional poetry. In the Mālwā Inscription of Vākpatirāja of v.s. 1031 and his copperplate grant of v.s. 1036 we may mark the presence of simile.[1] The thirteenth and fourteenth verses of the Vailabhaṭṭa Svāmin inscription at Gwalior abound in good oxymorons.[2] The use of puns in the inscriptional poetry can be seen in a land-grant of Mūlarāja of Aṇhilvād.[3] The copperplate grant of Śilāditya I recorded in G.S. 287 contains good metaphors.[4] Its long compounds mark it out as a specimen of *Gauḍi rīti*.[5] Poet Dāmodara who composed the Udaipur Inscription of Aparājita in v.s. 718 has a simple but elegant style.[6] Bhaṭṭa Sarvagupta, the author of an inscription from Jhālarpaṭan, of the year v.s. 746, wrote poetry abounding in vigour or the *vīrarasa*.[7] Devānanda, the composer of the British Museum Fragmentary inscription, calls himself *kovidānanda-*

---

[1] *IA*, VI, p. 51 and *IA*, XIV, p. 160. The verse, common to both is as below :

याःस्फूर्ज्जत्फणभृद्विषानलमिलद्धूप्रभाः प्रोल्लसन्मूर्द्धाबद्धशशाङ्ककोटि—
घटिताया: सैंहिकेयोपमाः ॥

याश्चन्चद्दिगरिजाकपोललुलिताः कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठकठोर-
रुचयःश्रेयांसि पुष्णन्तु वः ॥

[2] हर इव वृषविहितास्थो दोषसङ्गं न भानुरिवमेने ।
मधुरिपुरिव यस्संततमाक्रान्तविपक्षसंघातः ॥१३॥
यस्यपरार्थसक्ता सततं परिदृश्यते मतिर्नूनं ।
निर्ल्लोभत्वं तस्य हि जातं खलु यत्तदाश्चर्यम् ॥१४॥ —*EI*, I, p. 156.

[3] राजहंस इव विमलोभयपक्षः । कमलयोनिरिव विततकमलाश्रयः । विष्णु-
रिव विक्रमाक्रान्तभूतलः । त्रयम्वक इव विहिताचलाश्रयः । शतमख इव
विवुधानंदजनकः । कल्पवृक्ष इव वान्छितार्थफलप्रदः । मेरुरिवसर्बदा मध्यस्थः ।
तोयधिरिव बहुसत्त्वाश्रयः । जलद इव सर्वसत्त्वानुकंपी । सुरेन्द्रद्विप इव
सदा दानतोयार्द्रीकृतकरः । —*IA*, VI, p. 191.

[4] शैशवात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीय बाहुरेव . . . .

[5] समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिकषस्तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूड़ा-
रत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसङ्घतिस्सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्ग्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजा -
हृदयरंजनान्वर्त्थराज शब्दः । — ibid.

[6] दामोदरस्य पौत्रेण सूनुना ब्रह्मचारिणः । नाम्ना दामोदरेणैव कृता
काव्यविडम्बना —*EI*, IV, pp. 31 ff.

[7] रम्यैर्ज्जनप्रतीतैरर्थानुगतैरकवर्कशैश्शब्दैः ।
रचितेयमनभिमात्प्रशस्तिरपि भट्टशर्व्वगुप्तेन ॥१२॥ —*IA*, V, p. 181.

kārī[1], i.e., the giver of joy to the learned. And in a similar strain Mahādeva, the author of the Kinsāriyā inscription of Dadhīcaka, describes himself as a son of Kalyo, a *satkavi*, i.e., a good poet, belonging to a family of the Gauḍa Kāyasthas.[2]

But good literature was by no means confined to the royal courts alone. Almost every *agrahāra* and every hermitage could be a centre of literary activity. The description of Bāṇa's native village shows that his cousins were proficient in Nyāya, Mīmaṅsā, Vyākaraṇa, Purāṇa and Itihāsa.[3] Among his friends he counted the *bhāṣā* poet Iṣāṇa, the *varṇakavi* Veṇībhārata, the Prākṛt poet Vāyuvikāra, the two bards Anaṅgabāṇa and Sūcībāṇa, Sudṛṣṭi, the book-reciter, the *lekhaka* Govinda and Jayasena, the *kathaka*.[4] There could have been hardly any greater literary activity in a town. If a king was the centre of literary activity on account of his power of patronage so could a good poet also be a centre on account of his power to inspire and educate. Similarly in the *Harṣacarita* we have the description of Divākaramitra whose hermitage was a centre of philosophic studies.[5] There were perhaps many others of this type during our time though no record of them has survived.

In the 7th century, perhaps, we have the poet Bhartṛhari, the writer of the well-known *śatakas* and probably also of the grammatical work, *Vākyapadīya*. A poet, philosopher and grammarian, Bhartṛhari occupies the unique place in the field of literature.[6] Perhaps Candra, the author of an undiscovered play *Lokā-*

---

[1] देवानंदेन वन्द्याय कोविदानन्दकारिणा।
सिद्धेश्वराय देवाय श्लोका: पंच प्रपंचिता:॥ —*IA*, XIII, p. 251.

[2] गौडकायस्थवंशेभूच्छ्रीकल्योनाम सत्कवि:।
सूनुस्तस्य महादेव: प्रशस्तिं व्यदधादिमाम् ॥२६॥ —*EI*, XII, p. 59.

[3] See above No. 4, p. 82.

[4] *HC*, I, pp. 41-42.

[5] ibid., VIII, pp. 236-7.

[6] The date of Bhartṛhari, the author of three *śatakas*: the *Nīti*, the *Vairāgya* and the *Śṛṅgāra*, is open to dispute. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (A.D. 691) refers to a grammarian Bhartṛhari who was the author of *Vākyapadīya*. According to him Bhartṛhari died in A.D. 651-52, forty years before I-tsing. Dr. S. K. De, writes: "If the testimony of I-tsing is to be believed then we have to assume that Bhartṛhari lived in the 7th century and though it does not say that Bhartṛhari is a poet, it will not be wrong to suppose that Bhartṛhari of *Śatakas* is identical with Bhartṛhari of the *Vākyapadīya*."—Dasgupta and De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 673.

nanda, also flourished in the 7th century.[1] Amaru (8th cen.), the author of the *Amaruśataka*, is well-known for the poetry abounding in the description of the *Śṛṅgāra-rasa*, i.e., the sentiment of love[2]. Nothing is known about the personality of Viśākhadatta, the author of the play *Mudrārākṣasa*[3] except what he himself says in the prologue to the play, namely, that the name of his father was Mahārāja Bhākpṛthu, and Sāmanta Vaṭeśvaradatta was his grandfather.[4] Nor is much known of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the author of the play *Veṇīsaṁhāra*.[5] Abhinanda, the son of Jayantabhaṭṭa, the contemporary of Bhallaṭa, wrote a short metrical summary of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and entitled it the *Kādambarīkathāsāra*.[6]

The earliest of the great Jaina writers of the period was Haribhadra Sūri. But there is nothing to prove that he was patronised by any ruler. The *Dhurtākhyāna*[7], a satire on popular Hinduism, and the *Samrāiccakahā*[8] are his purely literary compositions in Prākṛt, both in prose and poetry. Of his disciples Udyotana was the author of the *Kuvalayamālakahā* completed at Jalor in A.D. 778.[9] It is written mainly in Prākṛt though it has a few descriptions also in the Paiśācī and Apabhraṁśa languages. Siddharṣi Sūri wrote in Sanskrit the *Upamitibhavaprapañcā-kathā*. This allegorical work dealing with the main principles of Jaina dogmas and ethics was completed at Bhīlmāla in v.s. 962. He compiled his *Candrakevalīcarita* in v.s. 974. Hariṣeṇa completed the composition of the *Bṛhatkathākoṣa* in Sanskrit, in Śaka 853

---

[1] Dasgupta & De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 119 and 656.

[2] Ānandavardhana (A.D. 850) first refers to Amaru.—ibid., p. 669; Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p 183.

[3] The historians have generally assigned it to the 9th cen. —Dasgupta & De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 264.

[4] p. 54.

[5] He is believed to have lived in Bengal in the 8th cen. A.D. —Dasgupta and De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 272.

[6] Published in the *KMS*, No. 11.

[7] Published in the *SJGM* in 1944 and edited by Dr. A.N. Upadhye.

[8] First edited by P. Peterson and H. Jacobi in the *BI*, Calcutta, 1899-1914. Also published by Devachand Lalbhai, from Surat, 1918-20.

[9] Published in the *SJGM* in 1959 and edited by Muni Jinavijayaji.

or Vikrama 989 (A.D. 931-32) during the Khara Samvatsara.[1] Vināyakapāla, identified with the Vināyakapāla of the Gurjar-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj, was his contemporary king and the *Kathākoṣa* itself is believed to have been composed near about Wadhwan in Kathiawar.

(b) PHILOSOPHY

Buddhist—In the period of clash of philosophic systems there was bound to be intense philosophic activity. The Buddhists wrote many works on Mahāyāna philosophy in which they formulated not only their own principles but criticized also the views of others. Śāntideva (7th cen.) compiled the *Vinayasūtras* and his commentary on it utilized much of the extant Mahāyāna literature.[2] Dharmapāla[3], Dharmakīrti[4], Vinīta-deva[5] and a number of other Mahā-

---

[1] *BKK*, vv. 11-13, p. 355.

[2] Śāntideva was a well-known author of the Mādhyamika school of philosophy. He compiled the *Vinayasūtras* for the Mahāyānists in the *Sikṣāsamuccaya* by way of the 27 *kārikās* and himself wrote a commentary thereon quoting numerous extracts from the old Mahāyāna Sūtras such as *Ākāśa-garbha-sūtra*, *Upāli-paripṛccha*, *Ugradatta-paripṛccha*, *Vimala-kīrti-nirdeśa*, *Avalokana sūtra* of Mahāvastu, *Ratnāloka-dhāraṇī*, *Tathāgata-guhya-sūtra*, *Daśa-bhūmikasūtra*, *Dharmasaṅgīti-sūtra*, *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka*, *Gaṇḍa-vayūha*, *Candra-pradīpa-sūtra*, *Ratṇakūṭa-sūtra*, *Ratnāmegha*, *Laṅkāvatāra*, *Lalitavistara*, *Śālistambha-sūtra*, *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa*, etc. etc. The ethical idea in the *Sikṣāsamuccaya* is the Boddhisattva. The *Bodhicaryāvatāra* is his poetic work of 915 verses divided into 10 chapters. It essentially deals with the life of a Boddhisattva, the ideal belonging to Mahāyāna. It also glorifies Bodhicittam and speculates on the Mādhyamika doctrine of *śūnyatā*.—Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 369 ff.

[3] Dharmapāla (A.D. 600-635) was a native of Kāñcīpura. Subsequently he was the head of the University of Nālandā. He wrote several works such as *Ālambana-pratyāya-dhyāna-śāstra-vyākhyā*; *Vidyā-mātra-siddhī-śāstra-vyakhyā* and *Sataśāstra-vaipuhya-vyakhyā*. The last of these works was translated in China in A.D. 650.—*Indian Logic* by Vidyabhusana, pp. 302-303.

[4] Dharmakīrti (A.D. 635-650) was a renowned disciple of Dharmapāla. He was the author of many books on logic of which the best known are *Pramāṇavārttika-kārikā*, *pramāṇavārttika-vṛtti*, *Pramāṇa-Viniścaya*, *Nyāyavindu*, *Hetuvindu-vivaraṇa*, *Tarkanyāya*, *Santānāntara-siddhi*, *Sambandhaparīkṣā* and *Sambandha-parīkṣā-vṛtti*. —*Indian Logic*, op. cit., pp. 303 ff.

[5] Vinīta-deva lived at Nālandā in about A.D. 700. He wrote *Nyāyavindu-ṭīkā*, *Hetu-vindu-ṭīkā*, *Vāda-nyāya-vyākhyā*, *Sambandha-parīkṣa-ṭīkā* and *Ālambana-parikṣa-ṭīkā*.—ibid., pp. 320-22.

yānist teachers carried the work much further.[1] Śāntirakṣita, who died in Tibet in A.D. 793, wrote the *Tattvasaṁgraha*, *Vādanyāya-vṛtti* and *Viniścitārtha*.[2] The first of these dealing with the different philosophical tenets of the day was commented on by his disciple Kamalaśīla.[3] Another of Śāntirakṣita's disciple, Haribhadrapāda, the spiritual preceptor of King Dharmapāla, wrote commentaries on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* and the *Abhisamayālaṁkāra*.[4] Kalyāṇarakṣita is also believed to have lived in the court of Dharmapāla of Bengal.[5] His disciple was Dharmottarācārya.[6] His *Kṣaṇabhaṅga-siddhi* was commented on by Muktākumbha (10th century).[7] Arcaṭa's (10th cen.) commentary on Dharmakīrtti's *Hetuvindu* is known as *Hetuvindu-vivaraṇa*. According to Tibetan sources he was a Brāhmaṇa of Kashmir.[8] Aśoka (*c.* A.D. 900) was the author of two logical works *Avyavī-nirākaraṇa* and *Sāmānya-duṣaṇa-dikprakāśikā*.[9] Prajñākaragupta flourishing in the reign

---

[1] From Tibetan sources we know also of Dharmakīrtti's disciple Devendrabodhi, the author of *Pramāṇa-vārttika-pañjikā*. His disciple Śākyabodhi wrote the *Pramāṇa-vārttika-pañjikā-ṭīkā*. Ravigupta (A.D. 725) was born in Kashmir. He was a philosopher and a Tāntrik. He wrote the *Pramāṇa-vārttika-vṛtti*. Jinendrabodhi (A.D. 725) wrote the *Viśāla-mālā-vati nāmapramāṇa-samuccaya-ṭīkā*.—ibid., pp. 319-20, 322-23.

[2] Śāntirakṣita who followed the Svatantra-mādhyamika school was a professor at Nālandā. He went over to Tibet at the invitation of the Tibetan king. He was known there by the name of Ācārya-bodhi-sattva.

[3] His other best-known work is *Nyāya-vindu-pūrva-pakṣa-saṁkṣipta* which is a criticism on the *Nyāya-vindu* of Dharmakīrtti. —*Indian Logic*, pp. 327-8.

[4] Śāntirakṣita had taught Haribhadrapāda Mādhyamika texts. The Yogācāra texts he had studied with Vairocanapāla.— *AIK*, p. 270.

[5] His five works are known to us from the Tibetan sources. These are *Sarvajña-siddhi-kārikā*, *Vāhyārthasiddhi-kārikā*, *Śruti-parīkṣā*, *Anyāpoha-vicāra-kārikā* and *Iśvara-bhaṅga-kārikā*. The first of these is on the attainment of omniscience and the second on the reality of the external things.—ibid, pp. 328-9.

[6] Dharmottarācārya (A.D. 847) lived in Kashmir. The works ascribed to him are *Nyāyavinduṭīkā*, a detailed commentary on Dharmakīrtti's *Nyāyavindu*, *Pramāṇa-parīkṣā*, *Apoha-nāma-prakaraṇa*, *Pāraloka-siddhi*, *Kṣaṇa-bhaṅga-siddhi* and *Pramāṇa-viniścaya-ṭīkā*.—ibid. pp. 329-31.

[7] *Indian Logic*, op. cit., p. 331.

[8] ibid., p. 332.

[9] ibid., p. 333.

of Mahipāla (died in A.D. 940) was the author of *Pramāṇa-vārttikā-laṁkāra*, a commentary on the *Pramāṇa-vārttika* of Dharmakīrtti; and the *Sahāvalambha-niścaya*.[1]

The Buddhist professors of the university of Vikramaśīla also contributed their mite to this activity, criticising the views of their philosophic adversaries and defending their own tenets. Of these the three names, viz., Ācārya-Jeṭārī[2] (*c.* A.D. 940-980) Ratnakīrtti[3] (*c.* A.D. 940-1000) and Ratnavajra[4] (A.D. 970-1040) are worth mentioning.

Jaina—The Jain authors of the age primarily devoted their energies to writing commentaries on the old canonical literature though we also find some of them writing original philosophical treatises. Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramaṇa (A.D. 609) wrote the *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*, a commentary on the *Āvaśyakasūtra*[5], Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara's (A.D. 676) commentaries on the *Nāndi-sūtra* and the *Niśīthi-sūtra* are known as the *Nāndi-sūtra-cūrṇi* and the *Niśīthi-sūtra-cūrṇi*, respectively.[6]

Haribhadra Sūri (8th cen.) is the most celebrated Jaina author of the age belonging to the Northern India. Tradition ascribes to him the authorship of 1,444 works.[7] He was the author of original philosophical works, commentaries on Jaina canons, and

---

[1] ibid., p. 336.

[2] Ācarya Jeṭārī remained the teacher of Dīpaṅkara or Śrī-jñāna-Atīsa, for some time in the early years of the latter's life. His works are *Hetu-tattva-upadeśa*, *Dharma-dharmi-viniścaya* and *Bālāvatāra-tarka*.—ibid., p. 337.

[3] Ratnakīrtti was designated as *Mahāpaṇḍita*. His two well-known logical treatises are *Apoha-siddhi* and *Kṣaṇa-bhaṅga-siddhi* in which he criticised the views of Dharmottara, Nyāyabhūṣaṇa and Vācaśpati Miśra on the subjects of *apoha* (execution) and *kṣaṇa-bhaṅga* (momentariness). His two other works are *Sthira-siddhi-bhūṣaṇa* and *Citrādvaita-siddhi*.—ibid., pp. 338-9.

[4] Ratnavajra was a Brāhmaṇa of Kashmir and had won the royal diploma of the Vikramaśīla University. He flourished in the reign of Cañca and may thus be assigned to A.D. 970—1040. His only known work is *Yukti-prayoga* preserved in the Tibetan translation.—ibid., pp. 339-340.

[5] *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. III. M.M. Vidyabhusana has assigned him to the period of A.D. 484-588.—p. 181, op. cit.

[6] Concluding portion of the *Nāndīsūtrā Cūrṇi*.

[7] Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 480.

pure literary works written in the *kathā* form.[1] He prepared commentaries on such Jaina Sūtras as *Anuyogadvāra*, *Āvāśyaka*, *Daśavaikālika*, *Nāndi*, and *Prajñāpana*. *Anekānta-jaya-patākā*, *Anekāntavāda-praveśa*, *Yogavindu*, and *Yogadṛṣṭi* are his independent philosophical treatises. By commenting on the *Nyāya-praveśa* of Diṅnāga he introduced Jainism to the Buddhist logic.[2]

Brāhmaṇical—In the field of the Brāhmaṇical system of Nyāya, Udyotakara wrote the *Nyāyavārtika* about A.D. 635, criticising the view of Diṅnāga[3], and it was commented on by Vācaspati Miśra (about A.D. 841).[4] Vācaspati had a hard task before himself, for during the period of nearly two hundred years which had elapsed, Buddhist writers had produced a vast amount of good literature of Buddhist logic. Vācaspati criticised Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrtti especially[5], and his work of criticism of rival doctrines was carried further in his other works on philosophic systems.

Vācaspati was naturally criticised by many Buddhist logicians and had to be defended by Udayanācārya (A.D. 984) who wrote the *Kusumāñjali*, *Kiraṇāvali*, *Nyāyavārttika-tātparya-ṭīkā-pariśuddhi* and *Ātma-tattva-viveka*.[6] In his *Kusumāñjali* he tried to prove logically the existence of God.[7] The *Ātma-tattva-viveka* refuted the Buddhist doctrines and proved the permanence of God.[8] Jayanta (about the 10th cen.), the author of the *Nyāyamañjarī*, similarly criticised the doctrines of Buddhist writers like Kalyāṇarakṣita and Dharmottara. He had also some bitter things to say about their popular form of religious worship.[9]

---

[1] See above Nos. 7-8 on p. 100.

[2] His other best-known works are : द्विजवदनचपेटा, अपोहप्रकरण, उपदेशपदप्रकरण, पंचाशकप्रकरण, पन्चसूत्रप्रकरणटीका, लोकतत्त्वनिर्णय, शास्त्रवार्तासमुच्चय, सम्बोधप्रकरण, धर्मविन्दु and धर्मसंग्रहणी ।

[3] While writing the *Nyāya-vārttika* he is believed to have resided at Thanesvara.—*Indian Logic*, op. cit., pp. 123 and 129.

[4] The commentary is known as *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparyaṭīkā*.—ibid., p. 133.

[5] ibid., pp. 135-6.

[6] ibid., p. 41.

[7] ibid., pp. 143 ff.

[8] ibid., pp. 145 ff.

[9] ibid., pp. 149 ff.

Another great Nyāya writer was BhāSarvajña (10th cen.) who treated only a *pramāṇa*, thus reducing the sixteen categories of Nyāya Sūtras into one. His book *Nyāyasāra* is of great importance in the history of Indian logic as it influenced the lines on which the later Nyāya literature was composed.[1]

In the allied philosophic system of Vaiśeṣika the great names are those of Udayana, Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa and Vyomaśekhara. Udayana commented on the work of Praśastapāda as well as Vācaśpati Miśra.[2] Śrīdhara, who wrote the commentary *Nyāyakadalī* (A.D. 991) on the *bhāṣya* of Praśastapāda, was slightly later than Udayana and was studied widely in North India.[3] Vyomaśekhara's (10th cen. A.D.) *Vyomavatī* is another commentary on the *Praśasta-pādabhāṣya*.[4] Its author was a Śaiva of the Mattamayūra sect.

Among the writers on Sāṁkhya one might mention Gauḍapāda's commentary on the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* of Iśvara-Kṛṣṇa which is earlier than the more famous commentary of Vācaspati Miśra entitled the *Sāṁkhyatattva-kaumudī*.[5]

The system allied to Sāṁkhya was that of Yoga. We have two important Yoga works, the *Tattvavaiśāradī* of Vācaspati Miśra which is a commentary on the *bhāṣya* of Vyāsa[6] and the *Rājamārtaṇḍa* of Bhoja which is the commentary on the *Yoga-sūtras*.[7]

The Pūrvamīmāṁsā school had the famous works of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa who was equally popular in North and South India.[8] Of

---

[1] ibid., pp. 351 ff.

[2] Udayana's commentary on Praśatapāda's *Padārthadharma-saṁgraha*, a commentary on the Vaiśesika *Sūtras*, is entitled *Kiraṇāvali*.—*Indian Philosophy*, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Vol. II, p. 181.

[3] ibid.

[4] ibid.

[5] Gauḍapāda's age is not certain but he is generally assigned to the 7th cen. A.D. Whether he is identical with Gauḍapāda, the author of the *Māṇḍukyakārikā* is also not certain. *Sāṁkhyatattva-kaumudī* discusses the essential features of the Sāṁkhya system.—*The Sāṁkhya System* by A. B. Keith, p. 69.

[6] *Indian Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 342.

[7] ibid.

[8] His *antyeṣṭi* is said to have been performed at Prayāga. He wrote an independent treatise on the *Śabarabhāṣya* dividing it into the three parts : (1) the *Ślokavārttika*, (2) *Tantravārttika* and *Tripiṭika*.—ibid., p. 377.

Kumārila's followers Maṇḍana Miśra attained great fame as a writer of the Mīmāṁsā school.[1]

But it is in the sphere of Vedānta that we find some very notable advances in the field of philosophy. Śaṅkarācārya who is generally placed in the eighth century A.D. commented on the *Brahmasūtras*, *Bhagvadgītā* and the older Upaniṣads advocating the doctrine of *advaita* or Monism.[2] He appears to have utilised the Buddhist theories in the propagation of his ideas, but a fact which differentiates the system from Buddhism is the insistence on *Brahman* being the supreme reality, the one without a second.[3] Anything that appears different from *Brahman* can only be an appearance or *māyā*.[4] Of the great commentators and the original writers who followed Śaṅkara we may mention Sureśvara, Padmapāda, Vācaspati Miśra and Sarvajñamuni. Sureśvara (A.D. 800) wrote *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārṭṭika* and the *Naiśkarmasiddhi*.[5] To Padmapāda is attributed the authorship of two vedāntic works, the *Pañca-pādikā* and the *Vedāntasāra*.[6] Vācaspati Miśra's great work is his commentary *Bhāmatī* on the *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* on the *Vedāntasūtras*.[7] Sarvajñamitra (A.D. 900) wrote the commentary, *Saṁkṣepaśārīraka*, in about A.D. 1000.[8]

Śaṅkara was preceded by Govinda, none of whose works has been discovered, and Gauḍapāda, the writer of the commentary on the *Uttaragītā*, which shows a good deal of Buddhist influence.[9] There were also probably some more writers of Vedānta. But their works have not come down to us.

---

[1] He was the author of *Vidhiviveka* and *Mīmāṁsānukramaṇi*.—ibid., pp. 377.

[2] Śaṅkara's well-known commentaries are on the eleven principal Upaniṣads, i.e., *Chāndogya*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Māṇḍukya*, *Taittirīya*, *Aitareya*, *Śvetāśvatara*, *Kena*, *Kaṭha*, *Îśa* and *Praśna*.—*Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 450.

[3] *Indian Philosophy*, op. cit., pp. 470-72.

[4] ibid., pp. 565-6 and *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, by Dr. Dasgupta, pp. 11, 16 and 36.

[5] ibid., p. 98.

[6] ibid., pp. 102-3.

[7] ibid., p. 107. Vācaspati Miśra's another Vedāntic work is *Tattva-Samīkṣā* not yet published.

[8] ibid., p. 111.

[9] *Indian Philosophy*, II, op. cit., p. 452.

(c) Sciences

Grammar—Śabdavidyā or the science of grammar was given the first place in the scheme of studies because it was only through its study that other sciences could be understood. Alberuni speaks of the five different schools of grammar as Aindra, Cāndra, Śakaṭa, Pāṇini and Kātantra.[1] Of these the last became most popular in Bengal and Kashmir.[2] The history of the Aindra school of grammar is shrouded in obscurity. Traditionally Indragomin is regarded as the founder of the school and it was specially popular in the Buddhist circles of Nepal.[3] The Cāndra system had the Buddhist Candra or Candragomin as its founder. It was popular in Tibet, Nepal and even Ceylon.[4] The Śākaṭāyana school originated with Śakaṭāyana, who wrote a book named *Śabdānuśāsanam* in the ninth century A.D.[5] The school of Pāṇini was popular in North-western India and Madhyadeśa.[6] In the seventh century Jayāditya and Vāmana wrote the *Kāśikāvṛtti* on the *Pāṇini-sūtras*. Bhartṛhari's commentary on the *Pātañjala-Mahābhāṣya* called the *Vākyapadīya* was also an important work of this system. The *Veda-vṛtti* with the prose commentary of Bhartṛhari and the *śloka* portion by Dharmapāla were, according to I-tsing, written for the advanced students of grammar.[7]

---

[1] Sachau, I, p. 135.

[2] The system is believed to be the oldest school and was founded by Sarvavarman also known as Kaumāra or Kalāpa after the name of the elder son of Śiva with whose grace he is believed to have composed it. About A.D. 800 Durgasiṁha wrote a *vṛtti* on the Kātantra grammar with his own commentary thereon. Durgasiṁha mentioned by Alberuni is perhaps the same. Another commentary, the *Śiṣyahitannyāsa*, was prepared by Ugrabhūti, perhaps identical with the teacher of Ānandapāla and about whose book Alberuni remarks that it was popularised in Kashmir by liberal grants in the latter half of the 10th cen. A.D. (Sachau, I, pp. 135-6). Besides these, Bhaṭṭa Jagaddhara and Chijjubhaṭṭa of Kashmir wrote two books on Kātantra system, entitled the *Bālabodhinī* and the *Laghuvṛtti* respectively, in about A.D. 1000.—*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar by* Belvalkar, p. 91.

[3] *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Dr. Keith, p. 431.

[4] ibid.

[5] Śakaṭāyana is said to belong to the reign of Amoghavarṣa (A.D. 814-77).—ibid., p. 432.

[6] ibid., pp. 425 ff.

[7] Jayāditya died nearly thirty years before the date of I-tsing's Record (A.D. 691-692), i.e., in A.D. 661-662 and Bhartṛhari, forty

Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology—The three sciences of Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology were inter-connected.[1] Varāhamihira who died a little before the advent of our period, i.e., in A.D. 587 wrote his *Pañcasiddhāntika*, a book on astronomy in which he described five astronomical systems, viz., the Vāsiṣṭha, Romaka, Paulisa, Brahmasiddhānta and Sūryasiddhānta.[2] He there regards Sūryasiddhānta as the most accurate system of the astronomical calculations. His *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* also known as the *Vārāhīsaṁhitā* is a book on astrology and related subjects. The *Bṛhajjātaka* and *Laghujātaka* are his two famous books on the *Phalitaśāstra* of the *jyotiṣa-vidyā*, i.e., astrology. He also wrote a book on travelling entitled the *Yātrāgranthā*. Bhaṭṭotpala (10th cen.) in his commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* refers to one more book, i.e., the *Bṛhadvivāhapaṭala* as written by Varāhamihira. His son Pṛthuyaśas was also a good astronomer and he wrote the *Horāṣaṭapañcāśikā*.[3] No works have yet been found of Śrīṣeṇa and Viṣṇucandra, both assigned to the period between S.E. 427 and S.E. 550.[4] Brahmagupta, the next notable author, was a resident of Bhīnmāla. His two works so far available are the *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta* and the *Khaṇḍakhādyakaraṇa*.[5] The former according to a verse of the book itself was written by him at the age of thirty years in S.E. 550, in the reign of Vyāghramukha of the Cāpa race.[6] The *Khaṇḍakhādya* is divided into two parts, *pūrva*

---

years before, i.e., in A.D. 651-652. He was a contemporary of Dharmapāla, the teacher of Śīlabhadra. Dharmapāla in A.D. 635 was too old to teach Yuan Chwang and he, therefore, appointed Gayaśena, to instruct the Chinese pilgrim.—Takakusu, Introd., p. lvii.

[1] Alberuni says, "If a man wants to gain the title of an astronomer, he must not only know scientific or mathematical astronomy, but also astrology."—Sachau, I, pp. 152-3.

[2] ibid., p. 153 and *Bhāratīya-Jyotiṣa* by Sri Sivanatha Jharkhandi, p. 296.

[3] ibid., Alberuni ascribes the work to Varāhamihira.—Sachau, I, p. 159.

[4] *Bhāratīya-jyotiṣa*, op. cit., p. 300. Alberuni mentions both in connection with the eclipses.—Sachau, II, p. 111.

[5] *Bhāratīya-jyotiṣa*, p. 310, op. cit.

[6] श्री चापवंशतिलके श्री व्याघ्रमुखे नृपे शकनृपाणां
पंचाशत्संयुक्तै र्वर्षशतैः पंचभिरतीतैः ५५० ॥७॥
ब्रह्मःस्फुटसिद्धान्तः सज्जनगणितगोलवित्प्रीत्यैः ।
त्रिंशद्वर्षेण कृतो जिष्णुसुतब्रह्मगुप्तेन ॥८॥

and *uttara*. The book was considered as one of the standard works on the subject in the time of Alberuni who has quoted from it.[1] A copy of the *Triśatikā* of Śrīdhara (*c*. S.E. 672) is in the State Library of Vārāṇasī.[2] The book also refers to anothe: work on *gaṇita*, bigger than the *Triśatikā*, as composed by Śrīdhara.[3] Manu, approximately assigned to S.E. 800, was the author of the *Bṛhanmānasakaraṇa*.[4] Of Balabhadra (*c*. S.E. 800) of Kannauj or Sthāṇeśvara no work has come down to us.[5] Vitteśvara (S.E. 281) of Kashmir was the author of the *Karaṇasāra*.[6] Āryabhaṭṭa II (S.E. 875) wrote the *Laghuāryasiddhānta*, a copy of which is in the Deccan College, Poona. Whether he was from the South or the North is not known.[7] Caturveda Pṛthudakasvāmī (S.E. 850 to 900) commented on the *Brahmasiddhānta*. On the basis of his commentary on the 35th and 38th verses of the seventh chapter he is believed to have resided at Kannauj.[8] Bhaṭṭotpala (S.E. 888) commented on the four books, i.e., the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, *Yātrāgrantha*, *Laghujātaka* and *Bṛhajjātaka*, of Varāhamihira and the *Horaṣaṭapañcāśikā* of Pṛthuyaśa. He was the author of an independent *Horā-*

---

[1] Alberuni says, "the contents of the book *Karaṇa-khaṇḍa-khādyaka* represent the doctrine of Āryabhaṭṭa. Therefore Brahmagupta afterwards composed a second book, which he called *Uttara-khaṇḍa-khādyaka*, i.e., the explanation of the *khaṇḍa-khādyaka*. And this book is again followed by another one called *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka-ṭīkā* (sic.), of which I do not know whether it is composed by Brahmagupta or somebody else. It explains the reasons and the nature of the calculations employed in the *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka*. I suppose it is a work of Balabhadra."—Sachau, I, p. 156.

[2] According to Pt. Sudhakara Dvivedi, Śrīdhara is identical with the author of the *Nyāyakandalī*, a book on Indian logic, composed in S.E. 913. But Sri Shankara Balakrishna Dikshita does not agree with Sri Dvivedi.—*Bhāratīya-jyotiṣaśāstra* by Shankara Balakrishna Dikshit, 2nd edition, p. 230.

[3] *Bhāratīya-jyotiṣaśāstra*, Shankara Balakrishna Dikshit, p. 312.

[4] ibid., p. 318; Sachau, I, p. 157.

[5] *Bhāratīya-jyotiṣaśāstra*,op. cit., p. 318.

[6] ibid., op. cit., pp. 318-19. According to Alberuni Vitteśvara was the son of Bhadatta (or Mihadatta) of the city of Nagapura.—Sachau, I, p. 156.

[7] *Bhāratīya-jyotiṣaśāstra*, op. cit., pp. 320 ff. Alberuni refers to two more works, i.e., *Daśagītikā* and *Āryāṣṭaśatā* by some Āryabhaṭṭa.—Sachau, I, p. 157.

[8] *Bhāratīya-jyotiṣaśāstra*, op, cit., p. 326.

śāstra, the *Praśnajñāna*, completed in seventy-two verses, and credited with the writing of *Gaṇitaskandha*, a book on Mathematics.[1] Vijayanandī, a native of Vārāṇasī, was a contemporary of Bhaṭṭotpala. He wrote a book *Karaṇatilaka*.[2] Alberuni who read some of these works remarks that "the sciences of astronomy and astrology are well developed among the Hindus. They prepare their Calendar or almanac on scientific lines."

Āyurveda or Medical Science

The followers of the medical profession were highly honoured in ancient India. There were two branches of this science, the science of medicine, i.e., *cikitsāvidyā* and the science of surgery, i.e., *śalyavidyā*.[3] According to I-tsing, there were eight sections (*aṣṭāṅgas*) of Āyurveda, two of which dealt with the science of surgery.[4] The method of stitching the wounds was well-known and many major operations were performed. Surgical instruments were of various types, each specific for some particular use.[5]

Vāgbhaṭa II (8th cen. A.D.), the most famous medical writer of the age, was the author of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya-saṁgraha*.[6] Of other medical treatises written about A.D. 1000 we may mention the *Rogaviniścaya* or *Mādhavanidāna* of Mādhava, a well-known authority on pathology. The *Siddhayoga* or the *Vṛndamādhava* of Vṛnda was another work written on the same lines.[7]

---

[1] ibid., pp. 326 ff.

[2] ibid., p. 329; Sachau, I, p. 156.

[3] It is evident from Suśruta, the Father of Indian Surgery, that both medicine and surgery went hand in hand in India. He remarks that "one who knows only one branch of his art is like a bird with one wing."—*Suśruta Saṁhitā*, Chap. V.

[4] Takakusu, p. 127. The *aṣṭāṅgas* according to the *Caraka-saṁhita* are 1. medicine; 2. diseases of the eyes, ears, nose, mouth and throat; 3. surgery; 4. toxicology; 5. psychotherapy; 6. pediatrics; 7. rejuvenation and 8. verilification.

[5] A brain operation is recorded to have been performed on King Bhoja of Dhārā in A.D. 927. The king was suffering from a brain tumor. "Anaesthesis was given by a drug called *Sammohinī*, and after a trepanation of the skull, removal of the tumor and closing of the wound by stiching, the king was received by the application of another drug (*Sanjīvanī*)."—Richard, A. Leonardo, *History of Surgery*, p. 14.

[6] P. K. Gode, *Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol. I, pp. 171-190.

[7] ibid., pp. 180 and 194.

Alchemy

Of the science of alchemy (*rasāyanaśāstra*) an independent work known as *Rasaratnākara* was composed by Nāgārjuna.[1] Alberuni states that the Hindus were not very proficient in this science and Patañjali and Nāgārjuna were their two well-known authorities on the subject.[2]

(d) Puranas and Dharmaśastras

Of particular importance, during the period, was the activity in the Purāṇic field. The old faiths changed their character; and even though the Mīmāṁsakas tried to emphasise the importance of vedic rituals and sacrifices mostly people moved away from them. The *Matsya Purāṇa* repeatedly states that the vedas were lost in the *Kali* era. Going to the *tīrthas*, observing *vratas* and making of gifts is advocated instead of the costly vedic sacrifices, for these were within the reach of the rich as well as the poor. Besides that, it must have been necessary to preach a faith which could be acceptable to all, the orthodox Brāhmaṇas, animists and reconverted Buddhists and Jainas. All these requirements of society were satisfied by the Purāṇic literature which grew up in this period, by the temple cult which took the place of *yajñas* and the institution of the *tīrthayātrā*.

This new Hinduism succeeded because it was built upon the foundation of vedic heritage and traditions and broadened them by means of fresh interpretations, additions and adaptations. Purāṇas had existed even from the sixth century, but in the period under survey they received new additions on the Dharmaśāstra topics like the *varṇāśramadharma*, the glorification of the Brāhmaṇas, the marriage customs and the position of women, rules and regulations regarding food and drink, *śrāddhas* and gifts. Subjects like initiation, sacrifices to planets and their pacification, consecration of images, *tīrthas*, *utsarga*, *vrata*, *pūjā*, etc. were innovations of this period "found neither in the works of Manu and Yājñavalkya, nor in the Purāṇas, or portions thereof, which were written earlier

---

[1] Sachau, Vol. I, p. 189.
[2] ibid.

than about the beginning of the 6th cen. A.D."[1] Specially important for our study in this direction are *Varāha*, *Nārada*, *Bṛhannārada*, *Agni* and *Kūrma* Purāṇas. A few chapters (VI to XXII) dealing with the duties of women and the funeral sacrifices were added even to the *Matsya Purāṇa*.[2]

Of the Upapurāṇas, many belong to the period of the survey, the most important of these being the *Sāmba Purāṇa* written in glorification of the Sun. According to Dr. Hazra the extant *Sāmba Purāṇa* was composed at two different stages of its composition. The first group, consisting of the first eighty-four chapters excepting thirty-nine to forty-three and forty-seven to eighty-three was composed at an earlier period ranging between A.D. 800 to 1050 and the rest at a period after A.D. 1250. He also believes that "the present *Sāmba Purāṇa* must have been written in Northern India and most probably in its Western parts."[3] Other Upapurāṇas now lost to us, but known from references to them, are the *Ādi Purāṇa* assigned to the years A.D. 500-700, the *Vṛhad-viṣṇudharma* and the *Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta* placed between A.D. 600-900, the *Aṅgirasa* regarded to have been completed up to A.D. 900 and the *Vṛhadviṣṇu*, *Laghubhāgavata* and *Prabhāsa* completed up to A.D. 1000.[4]

Another activity of similar importance was of the Dharmaśāstra or the Smṛti literature. The total number of Smṛtis now available is about one hundred.[5] But the question of their chronology is a perplexing one. The dates of only a few major Smṛtis can be fixed with some certainty. These Smṛtis are of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Kātyāyana and Bṛhaspati all assignable to the Gupta period of Indian history. The other smṛtis are roughly assigned to the period A.D. 400 to 1000 and most probably the

---

[1] R. C. Hazra, *Studies in Purāṇic Rites and Customs*, p. 189.

[2] See Appendix V.

[3] R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapuranas*, p. 99.

[4] ibid., Chap. V, pp. 350-60. Of the Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas now available the most important ones are the *Viṣṇudharma*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Nṛsiṁha Purāṇas*. According to Dr. R. C. Hazra they are ascribed to a period earlier than A.D. 600 but the popularity of these documents during the period is proved by Alberuni who refers to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Nṛsiṁha Purāṇas*.

[5] *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Dr. Kane, Vol. I, p. 134.

period between A.D. 600 to 900.[1] Of the Smṛtis of the latter group some naturally, the important ones, are mentioned by the later commentators on Smṛti and digest writers. These Smṛti names are almost the same which are mentioned by Alberuni as well. The Smṛtis other than the major ones he mentions are of Āpastamba, Parāśara, Śatātapa, Samvarta, Dakṣa, Vasiṣṭha, Aṅgirasa, Yama, Viṣṇu, Atri, Hārīta, Likhita, Śaṁkha, Gautama, Vyāsa and Uśānasa.[2] The manuscripts of the works assigned to these sages have been discovered and published. The names of some Smṛtis are preceded by the prefix *Vṛddha*, *Bṛhat* or *Laghu* to show that they are later and larger or smaller than the texts without any prefix. Of such Smṛtis the *Bṛhadyama*, *Laghuviṣṇu*, *Laghuśaṁkha*, *Laghusatātapa*, *Laghuhārīta*, *Laghvāśvalāyana*, *Vṛddhaśatātapa* and *Vṛddhahārīta* are the most notable names. Besides these, the *Śaṁkhalikhita*, perhaps of a joint authorship, *Gobhila*, *Devala*, *Prajāpati* and *Baudhāyana* are other important minor Smṛtis.[3]

One of the most important names connected with the Dharmaśāstra literature and assignable to a more definite date is of Medhātithi, the author of a well-known *bhāṣya* on the *Manu Smṛti*. His is the earliest available commentary on the *Manu Smṛti*. It was composed about A.D. 900.[4]

The Dharmaśāstra literature abounds in the information regarding the basic structure of the early Indian society. Its subject-matter can generally be put in three parts—(1) *ācāra* or the rules of conduct and daily practices (2) *vyavahāra* or judicature and (3) *prāyaścitta* or expiation. Thus the Dharmaśāstras in a broad sense are the codes of laws prescribing the rules of conduct and behaviour between the individual, the society and the State.

Connected with the Dharmaśāstra and at a time a part of it is the Arthaśāstra (the science of politics and statecraft) literature. The most notable name in this sphere is that of the *Śukranīti*. which is assigned to different periods by different writers. G.

---

[1] ibid., p. 134, and the Chronological Table to his other volumes.

[2] Sachau, Vol. I, p. 131.

[3] All these Smṛtis are published in the Ānanda Āśrama Sanskrit Series under the name of the *Smṛtināma Samuccaya*.

[4] *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Dr. Kane, Vol. I, p. 275.

Oppert believes it to be a work even of the pre-Christian period. Dr. V. S. Agrawala assigns it to the Gupta period.[1] According to Dr. A. S. Altekar it is a composite work being retouched down to the 14th century A.D. but mainly written during the period A.D. 900 to 1200.[2] Dr. U. N. Ghoshal regards it as a comparatively late work assignable to a period not later than the 13th century A.D.[3] But most of the matters described in it are consistent with socio-religio-political conditions of the latter part of our period. There are certain sections on the Arthaśāstra in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Agni Purāṇa* and *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*.

(e) TANTRASASTRA

Brāhmaṇical religious thought in the period under study has two sources, one the Vedic known as Nigama, and the other largely non-Vedic which is technically known as Āgama.[4] The Tantraśāstra belongs to the latter category and, though sometimes identified with it, has also the narrower sense of a thought in which there is an ample use of *mudrās*, *maṇḍalas*, and other aids of this type for the attainment of different *siddhis* (perfections) and also its supreme objective.[5] Its authority in the eyes of its followers is as great as that of the Vedas, as it is said to have been revealed by Īśvara by which word are meant Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Śakti and Bhairava.[6] Our account of the Tantraśāstra is mainly confined to the works accepting the narrower sense of the term.

---

[1] *HCSA*, p. 219.
[2] *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 20.
[3] *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, p. 495.
[4] श्रुतिश्च द्विविधा वैदिकी तांत्रिकी कच ॥ Kullūkabhaṭṭa's Ṭīkā on *MS*, II.1
[5] ईश्वरवागागमः ॥४७॥ तदेव तन्त्रम् ॥४७॥ *Parānandasūtra*. According to the *Piṅgalamata*, a text of which is preserved in the Darbar Library, Nepal, in a palm-leaf manuscript of A.D. 1174, Āgama is defined as a *śāstra* from which spiritual knowledge proceeds to every direction. The text called as *śāstra* controls and protects everything, called as a *jñāna* it helps in knowing everything and called as *tantra* it always preserves and |perpetuatcs everything.—Quoted in Dr. P. C. Bagchi's book *Studies in Tantrast* p. 106.
[6] *Parānandasūtra*, II. 68. 8, p, 3.

Historically the Tantras represent a religious development following the age of the Purāṇas. In the beginning of the ninth century (A.D. 802) Indian Tantras were exported to Cambodia.[1] Tāntric manuscripts of the period following the seventh century are extant in Nepal. Some Brāhmaṇical Tantras are ascribed to the authorship of Śaṅkarācārya (8th-9th cen. A.D.). Such an authorship, however, is very questionable. Indian Buddhist Tantras were translated into Chinese from the eighth century onwards. All these facts show that the literary activity in Tantra-śāstra was fairly prolific during the period following the seventh century A.D. We give below some account of this activity, both Brāhmaṇical as well as Buddhist, on the basis of data available to us.

Brāhmaṇical Tantras

Brāhmaṇical Tantras belong not only to Śāktism but also to the sects of Viṣṇu and Śiva. Vaiṣṇava Tantras are represented by the *Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās*, the total number of which is traditionally reckoned as one hundred and eight. But on the basis of a study of the different lists given in a few Saṁhitās themselves and the *Agni Purāṇa* their total number reaches about two hundred.[2] Only thirteen of these Saṁhitās have been published so far. On account of their striking similarity to Śaiva Āgamas and to the early Tāntrik literature, both Hindu and Buddhist, one might suggest, as Farquhar has actually done, that the earliest of them were probably written between A.D. 600 and 800.[3] The fact that the names of four Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās, the *Jayākhya*, *Haṁsaparameśvara*, *Vaihāyasa* and *Śrīkālaparā*, are mentioned in the *Spanda-kārikā* of Utpaleśvara of Kashmir living in the tenth century A.D., may further suggest that they were probably composed in North India though later on they were mainly popular in the South, and that these four Saṁhitās at least were in vogue before the tenth century A.D.[4]

---

[1] See below our account of the Śaiva Tantras.

[2] Schrader's Book—*Introduction to Pañcarātra and Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, pp. 5-11.

[3] Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 182.

[4] Schrader's Book, op. cit., p. 18.

The subject-matter of the Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās is similar to that of most Tāntrik texts. The *Jayākhya Saṁhitā*, for instance, contains, *mantras*, *sādhanas* and *puraścaraṇas*. The *mudrās*, *maṇḍalas* and the Tāntrik rites and practices are found abundantly mentioned in it. There are also definite instructions to attain perfection in many types of *siddhis*, such as *śāntika*, *pauṣṭika*, *māraṇa*, *uccāṭana*, *stambhana* and so on.[1]

Our knowledge regarding the Śaiva Tantras is meagre. The original Śaivite canons, twenty-eight in number, were composed before the advent of our period. The four Tāntrik texts of *Nayottara*, *Śiraścheda*, *Vināśikha* and *Sammoha*, all Śaivite in their character, were taken to Kambujadeśa from India in the beginning of the ninth century A.D.[2] Nayottara of these texts is identified with the *Naya* and *Uttara* Sūtras of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṁhitā*, a manuscript of which, written in the Gupta script of the eighth century A.D., is preserved in the Darbar Library of Nepal. *Śiraś-cheda* is regarded as another name of *Jayadrathayāmala*, a copy of which, copied in the twelfth century A.D., is also found in the Darbar Library. The *Vināśikha* was probably a supplement of the *Jayadrathayāmala*. As regards *Sammoha* nothing can definitely be stated except that it is referred to in the *Brahmayāmala* and should therefore be a fairly old Tantra. The text of the *Sammoha Tantra* now available may have been inspired by the original text.[3]

The *Niśvāsatattva Saṁhitā*, already referred to, reveals to us the names of eighteen other Śaiva Śāstras. Their names are *Vijaya*, *Niśvāsa*, *Svāyambhūva*, *Vāthula*, *Vīrabhadra*, *Raurava Mākuṭa*, *Virasa*, *Viresa*, *Candrahāsa* or *Candra*, *Jñāna*, *Mukhavimbaka* or *Vimba*, *Prodagīta*, *Lalita*, *Siddha*, *Santāna*, *Sarvodgīta*, *Kiraṇa* and *Parameśvara*.[4] This list with a slight variation is also given in the *Brahmayāmala* which elsewhere mentions the eight Yāmala texts, belonging to the Bhairavaśrota. These texts are *Rudra*, *Kanda Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu*, *Yama*, *Vāyu*, *Kuvera* and *Indra*.[5] As the manuscript of the *Brahmayāmala* revealing all these names was copied in A.D.

---

[1] *Jayākhya Saṁhitā* (Introduction), pp. 27 ff.
[2] *Studies in Tantras*, p. 1.
[3] ibid., pp. 1-15.
[4] *Niśvāsatattva Saṁhitā* quoted in *Studies in Tantras*, p. 95.
[5] *Brahmayāmala*, ibid., p. 57.

1052, it can safely be held that the texts mentioned therein had come into vogue much before the tenth century A.D.

The Śaiva Tantras composed during the period must have been many more. The *Brahmayāmala* refers to the threefold classification of the Tāntrik literature on the basis of the *Śrotas*, *Pīṭhas* and *Āmnāyas*. The *Śrotas* are again described as threefold, *Dakṣiṇa*, *Vāma* and *Madhyama*. The classification on the basis of *Pīṭhas* is said as fourfold, *Vidyāpīṭha*, *Mantrapīṭha*, *Mudrāpīṭha* and *Maṇḍalapīṭha*. The classification of the *Āmnāyas* varies.[1] Thus we see that Tantra literature before the composition of the *Brahmayāmala* had grown sufficiently extensive. The Śaiva Śāstras already referred to, according to the *Brahmayāmala*, belong to one tradition only, i.e., the *Madhyaśrota*.[2]

Of the Śākta Tantras many are available but mostly they belong to a very late period. Of the earlier Tantras we know very little. But on the basis of the references to Tāntrik principles and practices in the classical literature composed during the period under review we may infer that the Śākta Tantras, along with the Vaiṣṇava and the Śaiva, also would have been produced in a good number.[3] In Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* an old Drāviḍa residing in the temple of Caṇḍikā is said to have collected the small books of the Tantraśāstra.[4] A manuscript of a Śākta Tantra, *Kubjikāmata*, has been found as written in the Gupta character of about seventh century A.D.[5] The *Mahākaulajñānavinirṇaya* is another old Tāntrik manuscript.[6]

The *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* of Matsyendanātha, assigned to the middle of the 11th cen. A.D. is our earliest published Tantra belonging to the Śāktas. In this book we find references to the words like *gurupaṅkti*, *paramaparīya*, etc. and to many other schools of the Kaula Śāktas, which probably had their own Śākta Tantras.[7]

---

1 *Studies in Tantras*, p. 3.
2 ibid.
3 See below Chap. V.
4 *Kādambarī*, p. 399.
5 *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 199.
6 ibid.
7 See below Chap. V.

Buddhist Tantras

Buddhism had begun leaning towards Tantrism much before the advent of our period. But from the 7th cen. onwards Tantrism appears as a fully developed and recognised system of Buddhism. The *Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra* became popular in Japan in A.D. 609. Śāntideva (7th cen. A.D.) quotes *Ratnāloka Dhāraṇi* in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. Bāṇa (7th cen. A.D.) refers to the recitation of the *Mahāmāyūrī-mantra*, one of the five protecting spells (*pañca-rakṣā*) well-known in Nepal. *Sādhanamālā*, a compendium of 312 *sādhanas*, mentions many Tāntrik authors belonging to the 7th-11th centuries A.D. It mentions one Nāgārjuna (7th cen.) as the author of many *sādhanas* and Tāntrik works. It is also believed that he imported one *sādhana* from Bhoṭa.[1] The *Mañjūśrīmūlakalpa* and the *Guhyasamāja* or the *Tathāgataguhyaka* are early Buddhist Tantrik texts. The *Mañjūśrīmūlakalpa* is a work of Mantrayāna and in its present form contains a large interpolated portion. It, however, attained popularity in China in the 9th and 10th centuries and in Tibet in the 11th century.[2] The 38 chapters translated in Chinese are believed by Dr. B. Bhattacharya as comprising its original portion.[3] The *Guhyasamāja* Tantra is assigned to the class of the *Yoga* and *Anuttara-Yoga* Tantras. It also speaks of the *mantras*, *maṇḍalas*, *prajñā*, *yoga*, etc.

Buddhist Tāntrik authors were the Vajrayānic Siddhas traditionally reckoned as eighty-four in number. Some of them were historical personages and the works attributed to them, though mostly lost in their original, are known to us through their Tibetan translations. It is difficult to fix up the chronology of Vajrayānic Siddhas with any amount of certainty. From Tibetan sources we learn of two lines of Siddhas which help us in this matter. One is headed by Padmavajra successively followed by Anaṅgavajra, Indrabhūti, Bhagavatī Lakṣmīkarā, Līlā-vajra, Ḍārikapā, Sahaja-Yoginī-Cintā and Ḍombī Heruka. The other line begins with Saraha as the first Siddha and followed in his turn by Śabarī-pā, Lūi-pā, Vajradhara, Kacchapā, Jālandhar Kṛṣṇācārya, Guhya-pā,

---

[1] *Sādhanamālā*, Vol. II, Introduction, pp. xlv-xlvi.
[2] Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 397.
[3] *Guhyasamāja*, Introduction, p. xxxviii.

Vijaya-pā, Tailo-pā and Nairo-pā.[1] Who was the first Siddha is also not certain. In Tibet Lūi-pā is regarded as the first Siddha according to one school, and Saraha according to another.[2] Lāmā Tārānāth (16th-17th centuries) and Sri Rahula Sankrityayana favour Saraha as the first Siddha.[3]

In the first list, mentioned above, Indrabhūti is held as identical with one Indrabhūti, the father of Padmasambhava, who went to Tibet with Śāntirakṣita in A.D. 747. Thus Indrabhūti may be assigned to the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th cen. A.D. As Indrabhūti was preceded by Anaṅgavajra and Anaṅgavajra by Padmavajra, we may place Padmavajra about 30 years or so before Indrabhūti, say, about the end of the seventh or the early years of the 8th cen.[4] Pt. Rahula Sankrityayana puts Saraha in the 8th cen. as he was a disciple of Śāntirakṣita's (7th cen.) disciple Haribhadra who lived in the reign of King Dharmapāla (A.D. 770-815).[5] Lūi-pā, who followed him and is generally identified with Matsyendranātha, can be put approximately in the ninth century A.D.

Dr. S. K. Chatterji, on the other hand, puts Siddhas between A.D. 950 and 1200. He bases his account on a North Indian legend of Rājā Gopīcanda of Bengal according to which queen Mayanāvatī or Madanavatī, the mother of the Rājā, was a disciple of Gorakhanātha. Further on the basis of the traditional account of the Siddhas, current among the Nāth Yogīs, a Śaivite school, he regards Matsyendranātha, as the first Siddha. Gorakhanātha was Matsyendranātha's disciple and Jālandharanātha of the former. Kāṇhu-pā the author of a Buddhist *caryāgīti* (No. 36) refers to Jālandhara-pā, the disciple of Gorakha as his *guru*. King Gopīcanda according to Dr. Chatterji is identical with Govindapāla, the last Pāla king and Kāṇhu-pā with the author of the *Hevajra-pañjikā-yogaratnamālā*, a manuscript of which was written in the 39th year of Govindapāla's reign, i.e., *c.* A.D. 1199 or 1200. On all this basis he concludes "the lower limit for Kāṇhu-pā and also

---

[1] *Sādhanamālā*, Vol. II, Introduction, p. xli.
[2] ibid.
[3] *Mystic Tales of Lāmā Tārānāth*, p. 79; *Purātattva Nibandhāvali*, p. 147.
[4] *Sādhanamālā*, Vol. II, Introduction, pp. 11 ff.
[5] *Purātattva Nibandhāvali*, p. 155.

for his group in this date which is, in round number, A.D. 1200 or roughly the end of the twelfth century." His view, he thinks, is corroborated also by the *Jñāneśvarīṭīkā* on the *Bhagavadgītā* by Vijñāneśvara (*c.* A.D. 1290) who calls himself a disciple of his elder brother Nivṛttinātha, a disciple of Gorakhanātha, the disciple of Matsyendranātha.[1] But this identity of Govindapāla and Gopīcanda is extremely doubtful, and Jñāneśvara's date is also far from certain.

The Buddhist Tantrik literature is available in the forms of *Dohākoṣas* written in Apabhraṁśa, *Caryāpadas* or *Caryāgītis* in Apabhraṁśa and the independent Sanskrit treatises. The *Dohākoṣas* of Saraha, Kāṇhu-pā and Tilo-pā have come down to us. The *Caryāpadas* are a collection of fifty *padas* and are attributed to the twenty-three Siddhas included among whom are the *Dohākoṣa* writers as well. Of the Sanskrit texts of Buddhist tantras, the *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* of Anaṅgavajra deals with the tenets of Vajrayāna and is divided into five chapters. Tāntrik texts written by Indrabhūti, who is believed to be the king of Oddiyāna, are mentioned in the Tibetan Catalogue Tangyur.[2] Of his original Sanskrit works we have only two, i.e., the *Kurukullā Sādhanā* and the *Jñānasiddhi*. The latter contains twenty chapters and criticises the mere recitation of *mantras* without any knowledge of *Yoga*. Padmavajra's only available work in Sanskrit is the *Guhyasiddhi*.[3] Lakṣmīṁkarā, the sister of Indrabhūti, was the author of the *Advayasiddhi*.[4] She developed the new doctrine of Sahajayāna which is an offshoot of Vajrayāna. Sahajayaoginī was another female author and the name itself suggests that she also belonged to the Sahajayāna cult. She wrote *Vyaktabhāvānugata-tattva-siddhi*.[5] Ḍombī Heruka, the disciple of Sahajayoginī, was the author of the *Sahajasiddhi*, a copy of which containing about one hundred

---

[1] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 384-386.

[2] Their total number is twenty. For their names see *Two Vajrayāna Works*, Introduction, p. xiii.

[3] A MS. copy of it is preserved in the Oriental Institute, Baroda. *Two Vajrayāna Works*, Introduction, p. xiii; *Sādhanamālā*, Vol. II. introd., p. xlviii.

[4] A MS. copy is preserved in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, *Sādhanamālā*, op. cit., p. liv.

[5] *Sādhanamālā*, op. cit., p. lix.

ślokas, in all, is preserved in the Oriental Institute, Baroda.[1] Of Advayavajra many works have been available published under the name of the *Advayavajrasaṁgraha*.[2]

GENERAL REVIEW

In spite of a good deal of fighting and at times even anarchic conditions in some parts of the country, the period progressed in some directions. In the field of pure literature our chief standard works of Sanskrit prose were written between A.D. 600 and 1000. Philosophical activity continued in Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist as well as Jaina schools, though as time passed there was an increasing tendency towards hair-splitting discussion. Prākṛt literature flourished once again and Apabhraṁśa made its debut in the field of fashionable literature. We see advances being made also in the literature on some technical subjects.

But by A.D. 1000 the progress gets retarded. Partly, this might have been due to self-complacence. Partly the lack of progress was due to the fact that some thoughts had been explored to the limit and new lines of thought were necessary if further progress was to be made. In the earlier periods of our history the Indians had been in living contact with other people of the period and as a result of this contact both Indians and non-Indians had profited. But with the beginning of the Muslim conquests this contact lessened. The country progressed in its own way and on its own lines. Progress was made; but it is never good to get into ruts, whether they be of an intellectual or physical character. India in A.D. 1000 had already got into some of these ruts and was getting into more of them. Mahmud of Gaznavi's invasions should have served as a rude awakening. But they did not do so and India did not merely go on with its old ways, some of which were getting positively dangerous for our social and intellectual welfare but also brought in some rigid elements which further narrowed people's intellectual outlook and made them more expository than creative and constructive in their intellectual activities.

---

[1] ibid. p. lx.

[2] Published from Baroda, GOS. No. xl.

CHAPTER FIVE

RELIGION

HINDUISM

IT MUST HAVE BEEN noticed that a good deal of the literary activity during the period was religious in its character. Religion was the mainstay of life for many, even for those who occupied the highest places in life and lacked nothing to satisfy their worldly desires. There was something, they felt, over and above what they knew, to which they had to bow; and this something incomprehensible was of course viewed according to the religious aspirant's mental, emotional and intellectual development. There was no effort to bind down all people to one type of belief, for this was impossible in a country which had been rightly described as a museum of races and people, of diverse beliefs and traditions. Caste system may have slowly grown rigid; but there was no rigidity as far as religious belief was concerned. The fullest freedom of thought, at first sight even a sort of religious anarchy, therefore, characterises the period of the survey. There is a wonderful multiplicity of deities and sects, a spirit of toleration, a type of religious culture which combines in itself the highest philosophical thought with lower elements drawn from various strata of life, and a mysticism, the nature of which seems at times to be extremely subtle and at others to be so gross and obscene that its very thought is repulsive to the human mind. It is in the Purāṇic Hinduism of the period and Tāntrism, which characterised equally all systems of religious thought, that we find most of these traits.

MULTIPLICITY OF DEITIES AND SECTS

The religious life of the people during the period was expressed in a number of sects differing from each other in points of philosophy and rituals. Harṣa's plays introduce Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaurī, Indra, Brahmā, Kāma and Buddha as the principal deities of the 7th century.[1] In the *Kādambarī*, Bāṇa describes the Parivrājikās attending on Mahāśvetā, as reciting hymns in praise of Tryambaka, Ambikā, Kārttikeya, Viśravaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Ārya-Avalokiteśvara, Arhat

[1] See the author's article on Harṣa's plays, op. cit.

and Brahmā.[1] A fuller list of the deities worshipped can be had from the *Gauḍavāho* of Vākpati which, besides the gods already enumerated, refers to Hari, Nṛsiṁha, Nabavarāha, Varuṇa, Kūrma, Hari's form of Mohinī, Balabhadra, Bala and Kṛṣṇa, Sarasvatī Candra, Sūrya, Ādivarāha, Gaṇapati, Lakṣmī and Gaṅga.[2]

The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* contains a chapter entitled *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa* which gives the characteristics of the chief icons then worshipped.[3] According to Śukra an image constructed according to the prescribed rules looked not only beautiful but was also a source of virtue. A badly constructed one on the other hand took away wealth and life and increased grief.[4] The *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* prescribed rules not only for the images of chief deities but also for the figures of Rākṣasas, Piśācas, Bhūtas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras and Daityas.[5] Of Buddhist icons we have a good idea from the *Sādhanamālā*.[6] Jaina icons also come to us from a fairly early period of ancient Indian history.[7]

---

[1] *Kād.*, p. 371.
[2] Benedictory verses.
[3] Chap. LVIII.
[4] *SNS*, IV, pp. 425-6.
[5] Chap. 77, vv. 62 ff.
[6] Published in GOS Nos. XXVI and XLI.
[7] About the deities, whose images were worshipped towards the end of the period, Alberuni says, "To the idol of Viṣṇu are devoted the class called Bhāgavatas; to the idol of the Sun the Maga, i.e., the Magians; to the idol of Mahādeva, a class of Saints, anchorites with long hair, who cover their skin with ashes, hang on their persons the bones of dead people and swim in the pools. The Brāhmaṇas are devoted to the Eight Mothers, Shamancans to the Buddha, Arhants to the class called Nagna. On the whole to each idol certain people are devoted who constructed it, for those who know best how to serve it."—Sachau I, p. 121.

Many important schools of sculptures also flourished in the early middle ages and numerous temples were raised in honour of all important divinities—Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina in every region of India. The architectural design of North Indian temples known as Indo-Āryan or *Nāgar*-style is represented by the temples at Khajuraho (Central India), Orissa and Gujarat. The Khajuraho school flourished between A.D. 950 and 1050, the Orissa school from the 10th century onwards and the Gujarat school from the 11th to the 13th century. The group of early medieval temples of the Punjab—Himalaya may form a class by themselves to which belong

In the *Harṣacarita* Bāṇa mentions Jainas, Arhats, Maskarins Varṇins, Bhāgavatas, Pañcarātrikas, Lokāyatikas, Paurāṇikas, adepts in grammar, ascetics who shaved their hair, ascetics who studied *dhātuvāda*, law books and sacrificial lore, and ascetics who followed the tenets of Kapila, Kaṇāda, Upaniṣads and Nyāya.[1] This is a curious list, a strange mixture of religion and philosophy showing that in India these two have been closely associated and a system without any bearing on the question of life has never been much in favour with the Indian mind.

Some of the terms in the above list are rather vague. As Arhats are differentiated from Jainas, we may follow Śaṅkara in regarding Jainas as followers of the Buddha.[2] We discuss below the chief differences between the Bhāgavatas and Pañcarātrikas.[3] The Aupaniṣadas were probably followers of the Advaita school of philosophy, and may be the Brahmavādins mentioned in the same book as people skilled in expounding the nothingness of the fleeting world.[4] More details about their views can be had from the *Tattvasaṁgraha*.[5] The word Maskarin according to Pāṇini means a Parivrājaka or a Sanyāsin.[6] Perhaps they were so named because they went about with a *maskara* or bamboo-stick. The Maskarin of the *Harṣacarita* is a *Pāśupata*, and as the list given above includes the Maskarins and leaves one, the Pāśupatas, who formed a very influential sect of the empire, from all accounts, Indian as well as foreign, it is obvious that the Maskarins here denote the *Pāśupata* sect.[7] A Pārāśarin literally means a follower of Pārāśarya. Accord-

---

the rock-cut temples of Chamba, Kumayun and Almora regions, all of the 8th century, the famous Baijnatha temples built in the 9th century and the Viśveśvara temples of Hāṭa, Vajora and Kula of the 10th century.

[1] *HC*, VIII, pp. 236-7

[2] जैनैर्बौद्धै : —*HC*, VIII, p. 237. Śaṅkara's Commentary.

[3] pp. 153-5.

[4] संसारासारत्वकथनकुशला ब्रह्मवादिन : —Chap. V, p. 173.

[5] "Others upholding the Advaita (monistic) system of philosophy who are the followers of the Upaniṣads, postulate the soul to be eternal, one and of the nature of consciousness, which appears in the form of the illusory modifications by earth, etc."—Eng. Trans., p. 213.

[6] मरकरमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयो : —Pāṇini, VI. 1. 154.

[7] Bhairavācārya's disciple has been called a Maskarina.—*HC*, III, p. 102.

ing to Pāṇini they studied the *Bhikṣu-sūtras* of Pārāśarya.[1] But in the *Harṣacarita* the Buddhist monks are probably spoken of as Pārāśarī-*bhikṣus*. They worshipped the *Caityas*.[2]

A more exhaustive list of Indian sects of the tenth century can be had from the *Upamitibhava-prapañcā-kathā*. It is obvious that the differences among them were not merely the gods they worshipped but the way in which they went out, behaved and dressed themselves. Each one of them had different ideas about god, fate, actions, nature (*svabhāva*), time, etc. Some carried three *daṇḍas*, others one. Some went about naked, others put on a piece of leather. Their flags also marked their differences. Some carried feathers of owls, others of crows and peacocks. Some perhaps in their disguise looked like cows, others like owls. If some believers believed in chastity, others had utter contempt for it. Some carried *kapālas*, others swords. Some took food from their palms. Some lived like cows, others like deer. There were differences also on account of the sect they followed, there being among them Buddhist, Bhāgavatas, Śaivas, Ājivakas, Pāśupatas, Kaulas, Kālāmukhas, and Pāṇḍuribhikṣus. In fact, almost anything could be a source of difference.[3]

Spirit of Toleration

Relations between the Hindus and the Buddhists during this period were on the whole cordial. The Buddha was now regarded as one of the principal incarnations of Viṣṇu.[4] Maitrakas of Valabhī, though Śaivite in their personal belief, had extended their patronage to Buddhism also.[5] Jayanātha, the minister of the *Vaiṣṇava* king Śrīdhāraṇarāṭa (7th century), sought the permission of his master to grant a piece of land to a Buddhist *saṅgha* and the other to certain Brāhmaṇas for the performance of *pañcamahāyajñas*.[6]

---

[1] पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयो : —Pāṇini, IV. 110-11.

[2] *HC*, II, p. 8.

[3] *UBPK*, pp. 547-8 (Jacobi's edition).

[4] *infra*, No. 1, p. 127.

[5] A Copperplate grant of Śilāditya I, G.S. 286, *IA*, XIV, p. 329; Second plate of a grant of Śilāditya I, G.S. 286, *JBBRAS*, Vol. I, p. 27; Valabhī Copperplate of Śilāditya I, G.S. 286, *IA*, I, p. 46; Grant of Śilāditya III, G.S. 343 (*ARRM*) 1922-3, p. 11; Grant of Śilāditya III, G.S. 356, *JBBRAS*, Vol. I, p. 59; Bhāvanagar Plate of Dharmasena IV, G.S. 326, *IA*, p. 45.

[6] *Kailain Inscription*, *IHQ*, XXIII, pp. 221 ff.

Brāhmaṇa counsellors held a prominent place at the court of the Pālas, the Buddhist rulers of Bengal, whom we find visiting also the Hindu *Yajñas*.[1] According to the Bhāgalapur plate the Parama-saugata Nārāyaṇapāla, granted a village in favour of a shrine of Śiva Bhaṭṭāraka and *Pāśupatācārya-pariṣada*.[2] In an inscription from Gujarat, of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Dantivarman, dated A.D. 867, Buddha, Viṣṇu and Śiva are invoked one after the other.[3] In the Khajuraho inscription No. 5, which primarily extols Śiva, three other deities Viṣṇu, Buddha and Jaina are described as incarnations of Śiva.[4]

This growing spirit of harmony between the chief sects found expression also in the sculptural art of the days. The combined images of Viṣṇu and Śiva were known as Hari-Hara. When Brahmā was added to them, the image was known as a Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha or *Trimūrti*. Such images have been discovered all over India. The Mathura Museum has many Hari-Hara images.[5] The figures of all the three gods are found carved on the door lintels of Khajuraho temples and the Vaiṣṇava temples of Osia.[6] The Trimūrti at Kasara in Gujarat also belongs to the period under survey.[7] The sculptures depicting the combination of Sūrya with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva have been discovered from various parts of Rajasthan and Gujarat such as Osia, Jodhpur, Bhavala, Kiradu, Kamana, Ramgadha, Jhalarapatam, Varman and Baroda.[8] In an image of Viṣṇu with Brahmā and Śiva, in the Mathura museum, a four armed god, most probably Sūrya is seated above Viṣṇu's crown in the centre. He holds lotuses in his two upraised hands, and places his two other hands on Viṣṇu's crown.[9] On an idol of Śiva from Mathura even the eight *avatāras* of Viṣṇu are figured.[10] The image of the Buddha in a *Vaiṣṇava* temple of Osia in Rajasthan

---

[1] Bādal *Praśasti*, v. 15. —*EI*, II, pp. 106 ff.
[2] *IA*, XV, pp. 304 ff.
[3] *EI*, VI, pp. 285 ff.
[4] *EI*, I, p. 148.
[5] *CBIMA*, Nos. 1333, 1336, 2510 (p. 45). All these are the instances of Hari-Hara Images.
[6] *The Temples of Osia*, *ASIAR*, 1907-8.
[7] *AIK*, p. 330.
[8] Sri Ratna Chand Agrawal's article in the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, No. XVIII.
[9] *CBIMA*, No. 865.
[10] ibid., No. 751.

shows that as early as the 9th cen. A.D., when the temple must have been erected, Buddha was worshipped by the *Vaiṣṇavas* as an incarnation of Viṣṇu[1], and that the Buddhists had the same regard for the Brāhmaṇical faith can be seen from the fact that all the divinities of the Hindus such as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, Kṛṣṇa, Gaṇeśa, Balarāma, Kārttikeya, Durgā, Yama, Agni, etc. are found represented on the outside walls of the Buddhist temple of Pahārpura.[2]

Puranic Hinduism

The prevalence of Purāṇic Hinduism, with its toleration and all comprehensiveness, is merely an outward expression of the great change that had come over Indian society. It had a place for all, including the old Brāhmaṇical system which flourished within its own sphere.[3] Expressions like अनवरतमखाग्निधूमेनाश्रुपातः, अनवरत-ज्याहुतिप्रीत्यैः, तापसाग्निहोत्रधूमलेखाभिः, etc. in Bāṇa's works prove its vitality.[4] Copperplate grants belonging to the period record a large number of Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the vedic rites, and an orthodox Brāhmaṇa was a regular *agnihotrī* who kindled the sacred fire and recited vedic hymns. Tax-free lands were granted to Brāhmaṇas for the performance of the *pañcamahāyajñas* and other vedic rites. In the Mandara hill inscription, Ādityasena of the Later Gupta line is eulogised for the performance of *Aśvamedha* and several other sacrifices.[5] Harṣa before starting for conquest performed a *yajña* and presented valuable gifts to Brāhmaṇas.[6] Vedic rites were used in the coronation ceremony of prince Candrāpīḍa.[7]

Tantrism

The period is also characterised by the emergence of Tāntrik cults. Tāntrik religion and practices had been firmly established in India

---

[1] *The Temples of Osia*, *ASIAR*, 1907-8.

[2] *AIK*, p. 330.

[3] For popular elements of Neo-Hinduism see *infra*, Chapter VI.

[4] *Kādambarī*, pp. 11, 77, 90, etc.

[5] *CII*, III, p. 213. Historians, however, are not agreed regarding its reliability on account of its late script.

[6] *HC*, VII, p. 202.

[7] *Kādambarī*, pp. 209-211. See also *infra*, Chap. VIII.

already in the 7th century. The passage dealing with the last illness of Prabhākaravardhana refers to the king's relatives a keeping fasts and praying to Śiva, young nobles as sitting within a circle of hot blazing lamps and propitiating the Mothers; the Draviḍas as offering shells to Vetālas; the Āndhras as holding up arms to conciliate Caṇḍī; the king's servants as pacifying Mahākāla by holding melting gum on their heads and the king's well-wishers as intent on the oblations of their own flesh which they cut out with knives. Some chanted the Mahāmāyūrī hymns[1], others completed rites of keeping out spirits by means of offerings. Even the ghastly rite known as "selling human flesh" was resorted to openly by the king's well-wishers.[2] By the 10th century these Tāntrik tendencies had become firmly rooted in all important religions like Hinduism, Buddhism as well as Jainism.

HINDUISM : ITS DEITIES AND SECTARIAL SYSTEMS

ŚIVA

We have referred above to a multiplicity of deities. Of them, Śiva was one of the most popular Indian gods of North India. Yuan Chwang mentions him frequently. Poets and dramatists of our age invoke Śiva in their benedictory verses. Of the rulers of the period Harṣa was a Māheśvara (i.e., a worshipper of Maheśa) in the beginning of his reign.[3] Valabhī kings were mostly Śaivas.[4] Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa is described in one of his copperplates dated G.S. 300, as a great devotee of Śiva, "the blessed God of the three worlds."[5] Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa wished to bow to none but Śiva.[6] The rulers of Sālastambha dynasty which remained dominant there for nearly two centuries from A.D. 800 to 1000 professed adherence to Śiva.[7]

---

[1] According to the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, *Uttarasthāna* (Chap. V, v. 51) the Māyūrīmantra was to be chanted before one suspected to be under the bad influence of *grahas*, *bhūtas*, *piśācas* and other similar evil spirits.

[2] *HC*, V, p. 153.

[3] Baṅskherā Plate of Harṣa. —*EI*, IV, p. 210. For Harṣa's religion see also Appendix No. VI.

[4] Valabhī grant of G.S. 290, *IA*, IX, p. 238.

[5] Plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja, G.S. 300.—*EI*, VI, p. 143.

[6] *HC*, VII, p. 220.

[7] *AIK*, p. 61.

In the genealogical records of the Pratihāras Śrī Vatsarājadeva and Mahendrapāla II are mentioned as *Parama-māheśvaras*.[1] In the Bhāgalapura Grant Nārāyaṇapāla of Bengal, though himself a Buddhist, he is said to have made a grant in favour of Śiva-Bhaṭṭāraka and the Pāśupatas and to have built one thousand temples for the same deity.[2] Harṣanātha was the family deity of the Cauhān rulers of Śākambharī.[3] In the family of the Cāhamānas of Bhṛgukaccha, Śrī Haradāma and Bhartṛbaddha II were ardent devotees of Śiva.[4] Śaivism was the religion also of Dhaṅga, the Chandela ruler of Khajuraho.[5] The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Abhimanyu of Maṇipura extended his patronage to the Saivites by granting a village Undikavaitaka to the god Dakṣiṇa-Śiva.[6] Amoghavarṣa alias Vākpatirāja of Mālwā also worshipped Lord Bhavānīpati while making his grants.[7] In a grant of Dharaṇivarāha of Cāpa race, dated S.E. 836, Śiva is invoked under the name of Dhundheśvara.[8] Caulukya kings, Mūlarāja I and Cāmuṇḍarāja, were Śaivas.[9] Aṁśuvarman of Nepal bore the title of *Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*.[10] Guṇakāmadeva I who ruled in Nepal during the latter half of the tenth century made valuable grants to the god Paśupati.[11] The Kashmir kings of the Kārkoṭā and Utapala dynasties showed their devotion to Śiva by erecting temples in honour of the deity and by granting benefactions for their maintenance.[12]

To Harṣa's ancestor Puṣyabhūti, Śiva was the upholder, creator, as well as annihilator of the world. Without worshipping

---

[1] Pratābgarh Inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla II, of Mahodaya, ll. 5 & 9, V.S. 1003.—*EI*, XIV, p. 182.

[2] *IA*, XV, pp. 304 ff.

[3] *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 230.

[4] Hansot plates of the Cāhamāna Bhartṛvadha ll. 8 & 10.—*EI*, IX, p. 202.

[5] Khajuraho stone inscription, V.S. 1059.—*EI*, I, pp. 134-7.

[6] *IA*, XXX, p. 514.

[7] Mālwā Inscription of Vākpatirāja Deva, V.S. 1031 (l. 15) —*IA*, VI, p. 51.

[8] A grant of Dharaṇīvarāha of Vadhvan.—*IA*, XII, p. 193.

[9] Land grant of Mūlarāja, V.S. 1043.—*IA*, VI, p. 191; *The Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 287.

[10] *Ancient and Medieval Nepal* by Regmi, p. 98.

[11] *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, p. 196.

[12] See *infra* Nos. 1-10 on p. 134.

him he would not take his food.[1] In the houses of his people *Bhagavān-Khaṇḍaparśu* was worshipped with oblations of *gugula* in sacred fire, a bath of milk, and offerings of *bilva* leaves.[2] Everyone tried to please Puṣyabhūti by presenting articles which could be used in the worship of Śiva. They brought him bulls to be let loose, golden pitchers, lamps in jewelled stands, incense-burners, flowered cloths, *brahmasūtras* (sacred threads) and *mukhakoṣas* inlaid with gems.[3] His queens undertook themselves the threshing of the scattered rice, stained the temples with unguents and employed all their attendants in making flower-strings for the worship of Śiva.[4]

Bāṇa propitiated Śiva before he left his village to see Harṣa. He bathed Śiva's image in milk and offered him flowers, incense, perfumes, oblations, unguents and lighted lamps.[5] Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, after her descent to earth is said to have worshipped a *Śivaliṅga*, made of sand on the bank of the river Śoṇa.[6] After meditating upon the five-fold forms of Śiva[7], she offered the eight offerings of flowers for each one of the eight forms of Śiva, i.e., earth, air, water, ether, fire, Sun, Moon and *Yajamāna*.[8]

In one way Śiva continued to be Rudra, the terrible one. *Bali* was offered to him on the crossings of roads.[9] On the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight special worship was offered to him.[10] Among his followers were not only people like Puṣyabhūti, but also ascetics like Bhairavācārya who practised black magic and heinous rites to get *aiśvarya* or *maheśvarya*, the ultimate objects of a Māheśvara.[11]

---

[1] *HC*, III, p. 100.
[2] ibid.
[3] ibid.
[4] ibid.
[5] ibid., II, p. 56.
[6] ibid., I, p. 120.
[7] These forms are Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna—*HC*, I, p. 20; *Liṅga Purāṇa*, *Uttarārdha*, Chap. XIV.
[8] *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*, I. 1; *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalaṁ*, I. 1; *Liṅga Purāṇa*, *Uttarārdha*, Chap. XIII.
[9] *Kādambarī*, p. 130.
[10] ibid., p. 124.
[11] See Bhairavācārya's description in Appendix VII.

Some mythological details of Śiva's life such as the burning of Kāma (i.e., god Cupid) and the killing of demon Andhaka find expression in the inscriptions and literature of this period. In Kokkala's inscription dated A.D. 1000 he is eulogised under the name of Vaidyanātha, i.e., the lord of physicians, the remover of all diseases, physical as well as spiritual.[1] He was Īśvara and also the supreme Yogī and Siddha. As such he was worshipped alike by the Siddhas, kings and Vidyādharas. Mount Kailāsa, the home of Yakṣas and Gaṇas, was traditionally regarded as his abode.[2] His other names in the epigraphs are Śaṅkara, Śambhu, Bhava, Īśa, Tryambaka, Lakulīśa, Sarva, Dhundheśwara, Bhavānīpati, Rudra, Śūladhara, Maheśvara, Digambara and Paśupati.

Certain days in a year were considered specially holy to Śiva. On the evening of the 8th day of the dark fortnight a devotee of Śiva is enjoined in the *Matsya Purāṇa* to worship him with the offerings of various gifts. Brāhmaṇas were to be feasted after Śiva's worship. He was to be worshipped as Śaṅkara in the month of *Mārgaśīrṣa*, Śambhu in *Pauṣa*, Maheśvara in *Māgha*, Mahādeva in *Phālguṇa*, Sthāṇu in *Caitra*, Śiva in *Vaiśākha*, Paśupati in *Jyeṣṭha*, Ugra in *Āṣāḍha*, Sarva in *Śrāvaṇa*, Tryambaka in *Bhādrapada*, Hara in *Āśvina* and Īṣāṇa in *Kārttika*. To make gifts of cow, land, gold and cloth on the day was regarded as an act of great merit.[3] Another day sacred to Śiva was the *Anaṅgatrayodaśī* because Śiva on this day was believed to have consumed Kāma, the lord of passions.[4]

But the most important day of Śiva's worship was the *Śivacaturdaśī*. It was a day of full fasting. Even on the preceding day food was taken only once. On the morning of the *Caturdaśī* day Śiva and Umā were worshipped with lotus flowers, the wreaths of flowers, incense, sandal paste and prayers. Presents of a bull, a gold pitcher, white cloth, five-jewels, various foods and clothes were made to a Brāhmaṇa. Śaivas were invited to a feast. The merit that accrued from Śiva's worship on this day was believed

---

[1] *EI*, I, p. 148.

[2] British Museum Fragmentary Inscription of the Ascetic Vakularāja.—*IA*, XIII, pp. 250 & 251.

[3] *MP*, *Kṛṣṇāṣṭamīvratakathanam*, Chap. 56, p. 153.

[4] *AP*, Chap. 191, p. 373.

to be equal to the performance of one thousand *Aśvamedha* sacrifices.[1] In Kashmir it was also a day of festivity, when the devotees of Śiva made merry and sang and danced in the company of courtesans.[2]

There must have been many centres of Śaiva worship and many *Śiva-liṅgas* (sign of phallic worship) and images. Bāṇa refers to the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjainī.[3] Mahāśvetā in the *Kādambarī* is described as worshipping a *Caturmukha* or four-faced Śiva-liṅga made of *mauktika*.[4] Śaivites were, in the seventh century, probably in a majority in Jalandhara, Ahicchatra, Mālwā, Maheśvarapura, Benaras and Kannauj.[5] At Benaras was a bell-metal image of Deva (probably of Śiva) nearly 100 feet high which was "life-like in its awe-inspiring majesty."[6] In the capital town of A-Tien-Po-Chihlo, about 150 li, South-west from South, Yuan Chwang saw a "large handsomely ornamented Maheśvara temple, the image of which had supernatural powers."[7] The large temple of Maheśvara in the capital of Long-Kie (Ka)-Lo was very good-looking and held in great esteem by the Pāśupatas.[8] There were many Śaiva temples at Brāhmaṇābāda (middle Sindh) and Fa-la-wa (Varṇa).[9] A temple of Śiva in the *Ardhanārīśvara* form was constructed at Khandela in the Shekhavati region in Rajasthan by a Vaiśya Āditya-Nāga in V.S. 701 (A.D. 644).[10] A four-faced image of Mahādeva was installed in Bengal in the reign of Dharmapāla.[11] The Śītaleśvara temple of Śiva at Candravati near Jhalarapatan in Rajasthan is ascribed by Fergusson to the 9th century.[12]

---

[1] By worshipping Śiva in the described manner, it is written in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, one might attain even the position of the 'Lord of Gaṇas' and was ultimately to reach Śiva after residing in Heaven for numberless years.—*Śivacaturdaśīkathanam*, Chap. 94, p. 221.

[2] *NMP*, 552.

[3] *Kādambarī*, p. 100.

[4] *Kādambarī*, p. 243.

[5] Watters, I, pp. 296, 331, 352; II, pp. 47, 242, 251.

[6] ibid., p. 47.

[7] Cunningham has tentatively identified *A-tien-Po-chih-lo* with Kachh in Sindh, but one cannot be sure on this point.—ibid., p. 256.

[8] ibid., p. 257. The name of the country Long-Kie (Ka)-lo remains unidentified.

[9] ibid., pp. 259-262.

[10] *ASIR*, 1934-5, pp. 73-75.

[11] Khalimpur Copperplate Inscription, *EI*, IV, p. 243.

[12] *HIEA*, II, p. 132.

Of the Central Indian temples the one at Baroli, dedicated to Śiva, is assigned to the 9th-10th centuries.[1] At Khajuraho there are many Śaiva temples the chief of which, the Kandāriyā Mahādeva, is attributed by the historians to the 10th century.[2] The Lālaguṇa Mahādeva temple at Khajuraho is also architecturally assigned to the 9th-10th centuries.[3] The construction of the temple of Śambhu by Chandella King Dhaṅga is proved by the Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1059, recording that Dhaṅga installed there two Śiva-liṅgas, the one of emerald and the other of stone.[4] In a wall of the modern Viśvanātha temple at Khajuraho, another inscription dated in V.S. 1058 refers to the erection of a temple of Śiva Vaidyanātha by Kokkola of the Gṛhapati family who was perhaps some petty chief living at Khajuraho.[5]

Śrī Mūlarājadeva, the Caulukya king of Anhilvāḍa, erected a temple of Śiva Rudrālaya at Sidhpura in Gujrat and donated to it a piece of land on a day of eclipse.[6] Another temple of Śiva built by him in Manḍāli in the Varddhi-*viṣaya* was called Mūlanātha after his name.[7] In the same century the Parāmāra king Sīyaka donated a piece of land to a Śiva temple at Sarnot.[8] In the South-west of Sindh *Śiva-liṅgas* were worshipped in every Hindu house, though the idol of Somanātha was the most venerated one.[9] Every-day a jug of water from the Ganges and a basket of Kashmir flowers were brought for Somanātha's worship, and he was believed to cure "every inevitable illness and heal every desperate and incurable disease."[10]

---

[1] ibid., p. 132.
[2] ibid., p. 141.
[3] Maitra, *Early Rulers of Khajurāho*, pp. 210.
[4] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 134-7.
[5] *EI*, I, p. 148.
[6] Land Grant of Mūlarāja, V.S. 1043. —*IA*, VI, p. 191.
[7] ibid.
[8] *EI*, XIX, p. 236.
[9] The idol was in the *liṅga* form and, according to the Hindu belief, was originally erected on the coast, a little less than three miles west of the mouth of the river Sarsuti east of the golden fortress Baroi (which had appeared as a dwelling place for Vāsudeva, not far from the place where he and his family were killed and were burned) which was perpetually bathed by the daily phases of tides caused by the rising and setting of the moon. Therefore the idol owed its name to the flow and the moon—Sachau, Vol. II, p. 105.
[10] Sachau, II, p. 104.

An account of the Śaiva shrines raised during the period by the kings of Kashmir, some of which have been brought to light by archaeological exploration, can be had from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Of the Kārkoṭā kings, Lalitāditya built a temple of Śiva under the name of Jyeṣṭha Rudra and donated lands and villages for its daily worship.[1] He donated also a large amount of money to the shrine of Śiva Bhūteśa.[2] His minister (*sandhivigrahika*) Mitra-Śarman founded a temple of Śiva and called it Mitreśvara.[3] King's teacher, Ācārya Bhāpaṭa, founded Bhappaṭeśvara temple and his mother Narendraprabhā that of Narendreśvara.[4] In the time of the Utpalas, Avantivarman, though a worshipper of Viṣṇu from childhood, showed his respect to Śiva by performing regularly his worship and building a temple of Śiva at Avantipur.[5] The famous Śaiva shrines of Tripureśvara, Bhūteśvara and Vijayeśa were fitted with three pedestals made with silver conduits.[6] His minister Sūra who was a devotee of Śiva built a temple of Śiva and Pārvatī together with a permanent endowment, in the town of Sureśvarī.[7] In the same town his wife named Kuyyadevī and the son named Ratnavardhana erected the temples of Sadāśiva Kuyyadevīśvara and of Śiva Bhūteśvara respectively.[8] Two temples of Śiva were founded by Śaṅkaravarman in the town of Śaṅkarapura. One of these was named after his queen Sugandhā.[9] Two more Kashmir kings, Parvagupta and Kṣemagupta respectively, built the Śiva temples called Parvagupteśvara and Kṣemagaurīśvara.[10]

Śiva was worshipped in phallic as well as human forms. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* refer to both these types. The Śaiva Āgamas speak of the two types of *Śivaliṅgas*, movable (*cala* or *jaṅgama*) and immovable (*acala* or *sthāvara*). The former made of earth, various metals such as gold, silver, copper, bell-

---

[1] *RT*, IV. 190.
[2] ibid., 189.
[3] ibid., 209.
[4] ibid., 214, 38.
[5] *RT*, V. 45.
[6] ibid., 46.
[7] ibid., 37.
[8] ibid., 40, 41.
[9] ibid., 158.
[10] *RT*, VI. 137, 173.

metal, iron, lead, brass and tin, different precious stones like coral *vaidūrya*, topaz, emerald and bluestone, could be used for temporary worship (*kṣaṇika*) and carried about. The immovable *liṅgas* were of ten kinds, *svayambhuva*, *purāṇa* or *pūrva*, *daivata*, *gāṇapaṭya*, *āsura*, *sura*, *ārṣa*, *rākṣasa*, *mānuṣa* and *bāṇa*.[1] They could be plain, or with faces in which case they were called *mukha-liṅgas*. In a five-faced *mukha-liṅga* the central face was known as Īsāṇa and the others in the order of *parikramā* were called Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Vāmadeva and Saḍyojāta. The Aghora face generally wore a terrific look. Sarasvatī in the *Harṣacarita* is said to have built a Siva-liṅga of sand and prayed to all the five forms of Śiva.[2]

Śiva in his human form was generally sculptured with a third eye in the front, a crescent on his head, a trident in his right hand and Gaurī, his consort, on the left. By himself he was figured with a digit of the moon on his head and a third eye on the forehead.[3] In the sculptures known as Hara-Gaurī, Umā-Maheśvara or Śiva-Pārvatī, Śiva was sculptured with his consort Pārvati on the left.[4] Another variety of Śiva-Gaurī image was *kalyāṇaka* or *vaivāhika* representing the marriage ceremony of Śiva and Pārvatī.[5]

---

[1] G. N. Rao, II, pp. 75 ff.

[2] See above No. 7, p. 130. From Kannauj we have many *Śiva liṅgas* of 7th and 8th centuries endowed with one or four faces. In a fourfaced *liṅga* Pārvatī's head is shown as well ornamented and bearing a *jūṭa* of hair. In another *caturmukha liṅga* is shown a standing figure of Sun holding a *kamaladaṇḍa* in his hands.—*Kannauj* in the series *UPSK*, plates 4, 6.

[3] *BS*, Chap. 58, v. 53.

[4] In a sculpture at Ajmer Śiva is shown as four-armed and holding a lotus, the trident, and a snake in his three hands and embracing a two-handed Umā with the fourth. Umā's right hand is placed on Śiva's left foot and in her other hand she perhaps bore a flower or a mirror which is now mutilated. Brahmā and Viṣṇu are seen seated on a full-blown lotus on the right and left corner of the panel respectively. Brahmā is seated in the *yogāsana* posture carrying his usual attributes in the four hands. Viṣṇu holds the mace, the wheel and the conch in the three hands and his fourth hand is raised in the pose of praise. Below the panel are naked figures, of two children perhaps Gaṇeśa and Kumāra.—G. N. Rao, II, part I, pp. 137-8.

[5] A very good specimen of the *vaivāhika* image representing the actual marriage performance is preserved in the British museum. The bride is on the right and the bride-groom on the left. Brahmā,

Śiva's image in the *Ardhanārīśvara* form was also a common object of worship. In these images the right-half is of a male figure with matted hair and a crescent on the front and the left-half of a female figure with plaited hair decorated with jewels, garlands or lotus buds.[1] A very fine specimen of a standing *Ardhanārīśvara* image of about 8th century A.D. is in the personal collection of the Mahārāja of Jaipur. It was shifted from a local temple at Avaneri (in Jaipur).[2]

Another good specimen of an *Ardhanārīśvara* sculpture of the late Pāla period is in the Rajashahi Museum of Bengal. In it, the god "shown fully in the round is two-armed and ithyphallic."

---

the priest in the centre, is tending the sacrificial fire. Viṣṇu and another male attendant standing on the right and left respectively are offering them the pots of parched grains. The seven planets and the two demons Rāhu and Ketu are also witnessing the ceremony standing in a row above. The two Vidyādharas with garlands in hands are flying above, and Śiva's *gaṇas* are singing and dancing below. Śiva's bull is also carved in one corner. The bride and the bridegroom themselves are two and four-armed respectively. Śiva's right lower hand is grasping the right hand of Pārvatī, holding a mirror in her other hand. Śiva is holding a lotus flower in his upper right hand and a trident in his left upper hand and is putting the lower left hand on his left thigh. He has fastened the tiger's skin round his loin and is wearing a garland of skulls round his neck; a garland of pearls serving as his sacred thread. The image belongs to the Pāla school and is ascribed to the eighth or ninth century A.D.—R. P. Chanda, p. 62. A similar sculpture with minor differences hails also from Kannauj, *vide*, *Kannauj* in the Series *UPSK*, Plate No. 3.

[1] "The *Ardhanārīśvara* form of Śiva, though iconographically evolved in the Kushana period, was handled by the Gupta artists with new perfection. On the philosophic side it represented the two fundamentally opposed cosmic forces, viz., *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa*, which are constantly drawn together to embrace and fuse with each other but separated by an intervening axis." (*CBIMA*, p. 28); See also *infra*, pages on Śakti worship.

[2] Śiva shown in the right half holds a trident in the upper hand and a *nīlotpala* in the lower one. He is wearing the tiger's skin round his loin. Pārvatī who is represented on the left side is holding a round mirror in her upper hand. Śiva's mount and Gaṇas are sculptured on the right below. In another *Ardhanarīśvara* image from Rajasthan, now in the custody of Jhalavada museum, even Skanda mounted on a peacock is carved below. —*Maru Bhāratī*, 6th year, pp. 43-44.

In the images of Śiva Naṭarāja, he is sculptured in the dancing pose and is generally ten or twelve-armed. A few specimens, from Eastern India of Śiva Naṭarāja dancing on the back of his bull, and surrounded by the other deities of his group are available.[1] The images of Rudra-Śiva or of his terrific forms such as Bhairava, Aghora, Vīrabhadra and Virūpākṣa are found mostly in Southern India.

Connected with the Śaiva sects are the images of Lakulīśa, the founder of the Pāśupata system. These have been found in large numbers in medieval temples in Rajasthan, Lāṭa region and even as far south as Mysore. The images of Lakulīśa represent him mostly as a two-armed God holding a club in one.[2] In Rajasthan such images have been noticed in Jhalawad, Kotah and Udaipur States. In the niche of a wall of a temple at Balor (in the Bali Dist. of Gadhval region) Lakulīśa is figured with Yama and Agni on his right and left. In another temple at Atru (in the Kotah State) Lakulīśa figuring above the door in the centre is flanked by Brahmā and Viṣṇu on his right and left, respectively. At Kārvān or Kāyāvarohaṇa in Rajasthan where Śiva is believed to have incarnated as Lakulīśa are the famous temples of Nakulīśvara and of Rājarājeśvara in which are found the two *Śivaliṅgas* with the images of Lakulīśa sculptured thereon.[3] From Harṣanātha temple, Rajasthan, we have also a four-armed image of Lakulīśa.[4]

Śaiva Sects

Perhaps in the beginning of the 1st century A.D. there was a teacher known as Lakulīśa or Nakulīśa who systematized the beliefs of the Śaivas[5] and put them in the form of a book known as the *Pañcārtha-*

---

[1] *AIK*, p. 306.

[2] *JBBRAS*, XXII, pp. 151-3, 166.

[3] "Lakulisa," *ASIR*, 1906-7.

[4] The information was supplied by Dr. Dasharatha Sharma from his personal notes of the site.

[5] Uditācārya who flourished in A.D. 380 was tenth in spiritual descent from Kuśika, the founder of the spiritual line. As it is usual to assign 30 years to one spiritual generation Kuśika may be put towards the end of the Ist century A.D. From the accounts of the *Vāyu* and *Liṅga Purāṇas* we know that Kuśika was a pupil of Lakulīśa; therefore Lakulīśa can be put somewhere in the middle of the Ist century A.D. The followers of Kuśika had settled at Mathura while the descendants of Gārgya established themselves at Saurashtra and Gujrata—*EI*, I, pp. 271 ff; II, p. 5.

vidyā or *Pañcādhyāyī*. This was summarized in nine verses by Bhāsarvajña and commented upon by some unknown writer. The system described as Nakulīśa Pāśupata is described also in the *Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha* of Mādhava. According to the Cintra inscription, Nakulīśa had four disciples Kuśika, Gārgya, Maitreya and Kauruṣa, who became the founders of the four systems of Śaiva philosophy.[1] Vācaspatimiśra's commentary (9th cen.) on the Śāṅkarabhāṣya on the *Brahma-śūtras* also speaks of the four schools of Śaiva philosophy, namely the Pāśupatas, the Śaivas, the Kāpālikas and Kāruṇikasiddhāntins. In the commentaries of Rāmānuja and Keśava Kashmirin, Kālāmukhas take the place of Kāruṇikasiddhāntins. These four schools are mentioned also in the *Vāyavīya Saṁhitā* (II. 24.177) of the *Śiva Purāṇa* which however calls Kālāmukhas by the name of Mahāvratakas, a designation applied also very often to the Kāpālikas, most probably on account of the horrible ritual that both of them followed.[2]

The Nakulīśa Paśupatas

That the Nakulīśa Pāśupatas with their teaching of *Pañcārtha*, i.e., five categories, was the oldest of these schools can be seen from Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Brahma-śūtras*, according to which the Māheśvaras maintained that the five categories, namely, effect (*kārya*), cause (*kāraṇa*), union (*yoga*), ritual (*vidhi*), and the end of pain (*dukhānta*) were taught by the lord Pāśupata.[3] Nakulīśa's book from which this account was taken is no more available though it existed up to the 14th century when Mādhavācārya quoted its first *sūtra*.[4] But the details about it can be had from the *Gaṇakārikā*

In a paper contributed to the *Chandravali Pandey Volume* Dr. Visambhar Pathak has tried to prove that the Pāśupata system was formulated not by Lakulīśa the Pāśupata but by an earlier philosopher named Śrī Kaṇtha (p. 377). But the arguments advanced are not very convincing. In most of the references Śrī Kaṇṭha appears to have been the synonym of Śiva himself, who is regarded as the first expounder of the Śaiva system.

[1] *EI*, I, 271-87.

[2] *VSMS*, pp. 172, 183.

[3] माहेश्वरास्तु मन्यन्ते कार्यकारणयोगविधिदुःखान्ताः पञ्चपदार्थाः पशुपतिनरेश्वरेण पशुपाशविमोक्षणायोपदिष्टाः पशुपतिरीश्वरो निमित्तकारणानि वर्णयन्ति ।—II, 2, 37.

[4] तत्रेदमादिसूत्रम् 'अथातः पशुपतेः पाशुपतयोगविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः' इति । —*SDS*, p. 162.

as well as the *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha*. We utilise here the former of these works as its composition falls within the period of study.[1]

The Pāśupatas believed in Maheśvara Śiva as the creator of the world and regarded the acquisition of his great qualities as *dukhānta* or *mokṣa*. *Dukhānta* for a Pāśupata was no mere cessation of misery, it had also a positive aspect, i.e., in the attainment of *paramaiśvarya*. More specifically the idea of *dukhānta* is explained by dividing it into two categories as *anātmaka* and *sātmaka*. The *anātmaka* kind consisted in the absolute destruction of all misery; the *sātmaka* type required attainment of powers possessed by Maheśvara, i.e., his *jñānaśakti* and *kriyāśakti*. *Jñānaśakti* can be described as omniscience. *Kriyāśakti* is further subdivided as *manujavitva*, *kāmarūpitva*, and *vikaraṇadharmitva*. The possession of these two *śaktis* could give *mahaiśvarya* and every *siddhi* to the liberated individual.[2]

In order to cross the troubled sea of worldly existence the Pāśupatas laid stress also on the correct performance of their rites. One who looked after the Pāśupata *maṭha* attained merit thereby and could in due course reach salvation. Even the most learned was not qualified for *apavarga* (completion) unless he possessed faith (*śraddhā*). Nor was a man, merely with faith, of any use, unless he had a good knowledge of the principles of Pāśupata philosophy. Knowledge as well as rituals performed with *śraddhā* were thus necessary to have *mokṣa*.[3]

In such a system devotion to the *guru* naturally received some emphasis. One who knows and thinks over the Navagaṇas, observes them by performing rituals and also instructs the disciples in ritualistic observance by teaching them, is called a *guru*. He, they say, is *Deva* or god; he is the *Svāmī* or lord. Of the *gurus* too there would be two kinds, *para* and *apara*. The *apara guru* was the

---

[1] Bhāsarvajña, the author of the *Gaṇakārikā* is assigned to the second half of the 10th cen. A.D. But the date of its commentary is unknown. Both the text and the commentary are quoted in the *Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha*. Introduction to *Gaṇakārika*, published in GOS No. XV.

[2] *GK*, pp. 9-10.

[3] यस्त्वागमार्थज्ञानमात्रेणतुष्टः सन् श्रद्धाविरहितः श्रद्धादिमात्रयुक्तो वा लाभादिज्ञानविकलः स खल्वाचार्याभास एव नापवर्गंगन्तेति ।—*Gaṇakārikā*, p. 4.

spiritual leader who initiated the disciple and taught him. The *para guru* was Meheśvara himself.[1]

An aspirant was required to destroy the impurities or *malas* specified as *mithyājñāna*, *adharma*, *saṅgha-cyuti* and *paśutva* and he was by various means to fit himself for the higher religious life which ultimately led to *dukhānta*. Of these means one was known as *vāsa*, a technical term which included *grahaṇa*, *dhāraṇa*, *uhā*, *apoha*, *vijñāna*, *vacana*, *kriyā*, *guruparicaryā* and *yathānvāvābhiniveśa*. The second means was *caryā* which included most of the Pāśupata rites such as *bhasmasnāna*, *krāthana*, *spandana*, *maṇḍana*, *śṛṅgāraṇa* and *apitkaraṇa*.[2] Early in the morning a Pāśupata had to bathe and smear his body with ashes, after offering it to Śiva, Sūrya, *ācārya* or one's own elder brother if he were a Pāśupata. Similarly he was to smear *bhasma* or ashes at noon and in the evening. After *bhasmasnāna* the Pāśupata went to the Śiva temple, did some *japa* (recitation of *mantras*); on finishing it he laughed boistrously (*aṭṭahāsa*), sang, danced, did *hukkāra* and after saluting Śiva, came out and paid respect to the great Pāśupata teachers like Lakulīśa, Rāśikara, etc.[3]

In the second stage of his religious life a Pāśupata tried to disguise his real character in many ways. He pretended sleep, insanity, intoxication and such like states which would bring humiliation to him. In the third stage *japa* and *dhyāna* (meditation) were regarded the best means of spiritual uplift. *Japa* and *dhyāna* destroyed a man's bad deeds of all previous births.[4] For the first stage, an especially useful place for *japa* and *dhyāna* was the proximity of *guru*. In the second stage he was to live in a temple. For the third stage the most useful place was a cave and for the fourth the cremation ground where a Pāśupata was to live without even once going out of it, for one was now liberated from the physical as well as the spiritual bondage. For the fifth stage, the abode would only be Śiva.[5]

Of the *avasthās* (stages) already indicated, there were five. The first one was *vyakta* because a Pāśupata did everything openly. The second *avasthā* was *avyakta* because the aspirant tried to disguise

---

[1] ibid., pp. 5,19.
[2] ibid., pp. 4, 17-18.
[3] ibid., pp. 17-19.
[4] ibid., p. 19.
[5] ibid., pp. 16-17.

his real character. In the third stage *indriyavijaya* (restraint of senses) was the objective. It was therefore known as *jaya*. The fourth was *cheda* because of the aim being to end bondage. The last was known as *niṣṭhā* on account of the complete cessation of all works on the part of the *sādhaka*. In it the *sādhaka* had nothing which he would either like to give up or to acquire.[1] These *avasthās* were prescribed only for a Pāśupata, i.e., the one who had his initiation in the right way. They had their prescribed way of livelihood. The Pāśupata in the first stage was to live on alms which he was to offer to Śiva and *guru*, and then eat after mixing together everything that he had received. Taking alms from *amedhya*, *vivastra*, *yuvatī*, *viṭa* and *durjana* were prohibited. In the third stage *prāyaścitta*, *nivedana*, *pañcabrahma*, *japa* and *anusnāna* were unnecessary because the aspirant became by that time a *paramayogī*.[2] The Pāśupata of the second stage was to live on the food left for or offered to Maheśvara. There was no rule regarding the *bhikṣā-pātra* (begging bowl) for the second stage. The Pāśupata of the first stage was to use *pātras* made of earth, bamboo, wood or *alābu* or dried gourd. For the fourth stage the means of livelihood was whatever he could get while staying in the *smaśāna* or the cremation ground. For the *pañcamāvasthā* there was no question of means of livelihood on account of his being without any body.[3]

Everyone in bondage was called *paśu* (animal). It was his *paśutva* which was the beginningless cause of the world. Everyone who reached *kaivalya* was bound to come back to the world because even then he remained a *paśu*. It was only the attainment of *mahaiśvarya* through the Pāśupata system which could free a soul from bondage.[4]

The Śaivas

The Śaivamata was more refined and probably developed later than the original Pāśupata system. According to the system the three categories are *pati*, i.e., the Lord Śiva, *paśu*, the individual soul, and *pāśa*, the fetters of worldly bondage.[5] *Pati* or Śiva acts

---

[1] ibid., p. 8.
[2] ibid., pp. 4-5.
[3] ibid., p. 5.
[4] ibid., pp. 7, 23.
[5] *SDS*, pp. 174, 175, 180-181; *VSMS*, p. 178.

but not without reference to the action of people. *Paśu* is the individual's 'soul' who however advanced he may be has to be dependent on *pati*, i.e., Śiva.[1] In Lakulīśa-Pāśupata philosophy a released soul had no sort of dependence. *Pāśa* is of four kinds—*mala* or taint, *karma*, *māyā* and *rodhaśakti* or obstructive power.[2] Obstructive power is that power of Śiva which controls the other three *pāśas* and regulates and conceals the true nature of the soul.[3] The *Vāyaviya Saṁhitā* calls Śaivas the Siddhānta school of Śaivism.[4]

One of the important sects of the Śaivas was founded by the *Śaivācāryas* of Mattamayūra clan. Their inscriptions have been found at Chandreha and Gurgi in the Rewah state and Ranod in the Gwalior state. The chief seat of the Mattamayūra clan may have been in Central India. From the Bilhari inscription of the time of Yuvarāja II we find that the *ācāryas* had considerable influence at the court of the Cedīs of Tripura and received several villages for the maintenance of their temples and monasteries.[5]

Kapalikas and Kalamukhas

The extremist sections of the Śaivas were the Kāpālikas and the Kālāmukhas. Their best account is to be found in the *Śrī Bhāṣya* of Rāmānuja (12th cen.).[6] They are referred to also in the *Mattavīlāsa* (7th cen.), *Mālatīmādhava* (8th cen.), *Caṇḍakauśika* (10th cen.), *Prabodhacandrodaya* (12th cen.) and *Moharājaparājaya* (12th cen.).

According to the *Mālatīmādhava*, the Kāpālikas had matted hair tied upward in a knot. They always kept with them a *khatvāṅga* (an infernal weapon) and fastened bells to it.[7] Both the sexes could observe the Kāpālikas' vow.[8] Śiva to them was the

---

[1] *SDS*, शैवदर्शनम्; *VSMS*, p. 179.

[2] *SDS*, p. 187.

[3] *VSMS*, p. 179.

[4] *VSMS*, p. 181 : The Śaivas prescribed also a number of ceremonies and rites, but there is nothing barbaric about them.

[5] V. V. Mirashi, *The Śaiva Ācāryas of the Mattamayūra Clan*, *IHQ*, XXVI, pp. 1. ff.

[6] It says that the Kāpālikas held that a man who knew the essence and the use of the six *mudrikās*, i.e., marks, could attain the highest bliss through the concentration of mind on the soul seated on the female organ. The six marks aie a necklace, an armament, an ear-ornament, a crest-jewel, ashes and the sacred thread.—II, 2.35.

[7] V, v. 4.

[8] *MM*, I, p. 18.

lord of Śaktis and remained always surrounded by them. The Kāpālika devotees claimed to see him through the power of abstraction and indulged in certain rites of a revolting nature.[1] Mālatī, the heroine of the play, was kidnapped from her house to be offered as *bali* to the goddess Cāmuṇḍā, at the commencement of Aghoraghaṇṭā's rite to make the *mantras* efficacious.[2] In the *Samarāiccakahā*, Maheśvaradatta, a Kāpālika, knew the mystic *Garuḍa-mantra* which acted as an antidote to snake bites.[3]

In the plays *Caṇḍakauśika* and the *Prabodhacandrodaya* the Kāpālikas are described as wearing a garland of human bones, living in a cemetry and eating from a skull.[4] Ultimately they were also believers in *advaita* or non-duality, and discrimination between any two things meant falling away from the idea of non-duality. They wanted not merely their thoughts but also their actions and way of life to express their belief in this great truth. Hence all types of food, pure as well as impure, stale as well as fresh; all types of ceremonies, elaborate as well as simple; and all types of austerities, were the same to them. They paid no more regard to the one than to the other. The following verse of the *Caṇḍa-kauśika* gives expression to this philosophical view of the Kāpālikas[5] :

भैक्ष्याद्वैतं तपोऽद्वैतं क्रियाऽद्वैतन्च तत्परम् ।
सुलभं सर्वमेवैतदात्माऽद्वैतन्तु दुर्लभम् ॥

But the play itself criticises these claims with the words पर किलायं प्रकर्ष:कामचारिण: meaning that this is the worst extreme that could be reached by the people who wish to live as they like. In the verse quoted above the last quarter also shows that in spite of their inclination towards *advaita* in life, they found it difficult to reach the true knowledge of *advaita* regarding *ātmā* and *brahman*. In the *Prabodhacandrodaya* the Kāpālika claims seeing the complete affinity between the world and the God by having cleared his sight by the application of the collyrium of *yoga*.[6] They worshipped Śiva as

---

[1] *Infra*.
[2] *MM*, V, p. 136.
[3] p. 254.
[4] *CK*, IV, 25-26.
[5] IV. 27.
[6] पश्यामि योगान्जनचक्षुषा जगन्मिथो भिन्नमभिन्नमीश्वरात् ॥ —III.12.

Mahābhairava and the system was also called as Mahābhairava-śāsana, Parmeśvarasiddhānta or the Somasiddhānta.[1]

Trikamata or Kashmir Śaivism

One form of Śaivism is known as Trika, Spanda or Pratyabhijña. The earliest book on the subject is the *Śiva-sūtras* written probably in the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century by Vasugupta. His pupil Kallaṭa wrote a commentary on it called *Spanda-sarvasva*. Somānanda, most probably the pupil of Vasugupta, was the author of the *Śivadṛṣṭi*. Utpala, the famous disciple of Somānanda, wrote the *Pratyabhijñaśāstra*. Another great writer on the subject was Abhinavagupta, the author of the *Paramārthasāra*.

The system is called Trika because it deals with the three principles of *Śiva-Śakti-Aṇu* or *Pati*, *Pāsa* and *Paśu*.[2] The name *Spanda* comes on account of its belief in the principle of *spanda* or the apparent movement which changes the absolute unity with the plurality of the world. *Pratyabhijña* is the philosophy proper of this school and lays down the principle by which one recognises his identity with Śiva.

Supreme reality in this form of Śaivism as in others is Śiva who is regarded as the efficient as well as the material cause of the world. He has five forms of Śakti, i.e., (1) *citta-śakti* or the power of intelligence, (2) *ānanda-śakti* or the power of independence with its bliss or joy, (3) *icchā-śakti* or the power to will, (4) *jñāna-śakti* or the power of knowledge and (5) *kriyā-śakti* or the power of action. It is through these powers that Śiva manifests himself as the universe. There is nothing different from Śiva but the appearan-

---

[1] *Prabodhacandrodaya*, III, pp. 111, 120-1.

The Kāpālikas perhaps later on gave up some of their heinous practices, and by the 14th cen. A.D. came to be identified with the Lokāyatikas. It was probably the humanized sect of Kāpālikas who were in charge of many of the temples and *maṭhas* in Mewar. The Kālāmukhas retained their old practices and were probably for that reason despised by most of the progressive sections of the society.

[2] The three principles are recognised also in other schools of Śaivism. But in Kashmir Saivism we find an essential identity of the *jīva* and *saṁsāra* with Śiva and so the three principles according to it are practically reduced to one. It is therefore a kind of monism.

ces are by no means unreal. They are the aspects of the Ultimate Reality.[1]

The individual soul, according to this system, suffers on account of *ajñāna* or ignorance and is covered with impurities called *malas*, i.e., the *āṇavamala* or the impurity of ignorance, *karmamala* which is the result of the *aṇavamala* and *māyīvamala* which is caused by *karmamala*. Soul gets released when it realises its unity with Śiva. Ultimately it is the removal of ignorance which leads to salvation.

But it is not mere human effort which leads to supreme freedom. It is God's grace which ultimately brings about the union of Śiva and *jīva*. When *ajñāna* is surmounted, the soul becomes merged in *Brahman* as water in water and milk in milk.[2]

VISHNU

Epigraphic as well as literary evidence shows the popularity of Viṣṇu and his many incarnations in Northern India. As one of the Hindu Trinity (Trimūrti) he was regarded as an embodiment of *satyaguṇa* and the protector of the universe in contradistinction to Brahmā, the creator, and Śiva, the destroyer. But very often he was regarded as God himself and in this aspect described as *sarvadevamaya* and *viṣvarūpa*.[3] Of his incarnations twenty-four are mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[4] But ten of these were specially venerated.[5]

---

[1] *Paramārthasāra*, vv. 14, 46. For further details see *Kashmir Śaivism*, pt. I, pp. 43-5.

[2] *Paramārthasāra*, v. 51.

[3] *Kād.*, v. i; pp. 10, 200.

[4] These incarnations are : 1. Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Sanatkumāra, 2. Varāha, 3. Yajñapuruṣa, 4. Hayagrīva, 5. Naranarāyaṇa, 6. Kapiladeva, 7. Dattātreya, 8. Ṛṣabhadeva, 9. Pṛthu, 10. Matsya, 11. Kacchapa, 12. Dhanvantari, 13. Mohinī, 14. Nṛsiṁha, 15. Vāmana, 16. Haṁsa, 17. Nārada, 18. Hari, 19. Paraśurāma, 20. Rāmacandra, 21. Vedavyāsa, 22. Śrī Kṛṣṇa, 23. Buddha and 24. Kalkī,—*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Chap. I. 3; II. 7; XI. 4.

[5] Kṣemendra, the poet of Kashmir, prays to each of the ten incarnations in his *Daśāvatāra Caritam*. The names he mentions are Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalkī. Jayadeva (12th cen.) puts the name of Balarāma instead of Kṛṣṇa.—*Gīta Govinda*.

Of these ten incarnations again, Kṛṣṇa had become so much popular that he had practically been identified with Viṣṇu. In the Udaipura inscription of Aparājita dated v.s. 718, Vāsudeva (a name of Kṛṣṇa) is invoked under the names of Hari, Śauri and Puruṣottama, even though these were actually the appellations of Viṣṇu.[1] Such acts like measuring the universe with his three steps have been ascribed to Kṛṣṇa in our literature even though these are Viṣṇu's actions performed in other incarnations.[2] In the play *Veṇīsaṁhāra* Kṛṣṇa is described as bearing four arms holding the conch, the discus, the sword and the mace respectively in each of them[3] and is called not only Hari, Govinda, Vāsudeva, Devakīnandana, Mādhava and Keśava but also Puṇḍarīkākṣa, Purāṇapuruṣa, Nārāyaṇa, Cakrapāṇi and Narottama.[4]

Events of Kṛṣṇa's career were extremely popular and formed subjects of dramas, songs, sculptures and epigraphs. The *Śiśupālavadha*, one of the best *kāvyas* in Sanskrit, described the death of Śiśupala at the hands of Kṛṣṇa. Many Purāṇas, of which the *Bhāgavata* may belong to the period of the survey, also popularised his worship.[5] At Mathura many sculptures belonging to this period represent him as lifting the mount Govardhana.[6] The Pahārapura sculptures (between the 6th and 8th centuries) represent many legends connected with his life as a cowherd.[7] Rādhā is mentioned in the *Gauḍavāho*, *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, and the two epigraphs, one from Maṇḍor and the other from Dhārā.[8] She is probably represented as a *gopī* in the Pahārapura sculptures.[9]

Whether standing or seated, Viṣṇu in the sculptures of this period was represented as a four-armed god, holding a *gadā* (mace),

---

[1] Udaipur Inscription of Aparājita, v. s. 718.—*EI*, IV, p. 31.
[2] *Kādambarī*, p. 9.
[3] Act IV, p. 221.
[4] I, p. 33; III, p. 81; VI, p. 172; III, p. 89; VI, p. 202; I, p. 31; VI, pp. 168, 172, 183, 204.
[5] It is still held in great esteem by the followers of Vāsudeva Kṛṣna.
[6] *CBIMA*, Nos. D 47, D 55, D 50, 830, 1057, 1183.
[7] *HB*, Vol. I, p. 401.
[8] *Gauḍavāho*, v. 22; *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, Act I, v. 1; Mālwā Inscription of Vākpatideva, *IA*, VI, p. 51; A Copperplate grant of Vākpatideva, *IA*, VIX, p. 160.
[9] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 403.

a *padma* (lotus), a *cakra* (wheel) and a *śaṅkha* (conch) and wearing various ornaments and a sacred thread.[1] These four weapons could sometimes be given also the form of human attendants and were in that case known as *āyudha-puruṣas*.[2] In the *Śeṣaśāyī* sculptures he is shown as reposing on the serpent *Śeṣa* or Ananta in the *kṣīrasāgara*. A lotus with Brahmā seated on it emanates from his navel, Lakṣmī his consort either stands near him or shampooer his feet and the two demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha are depicted as eager to devour Brahmā.[3] The Viṣṇu images with the miniatures of all the ten incarnations were also common during this period.[4]

In its *viṣvarūpa* form a Viṣṇu image had the face of a man in the front, the southern, eastern and northern faces being those

---

[1] (a) Mathura Museum Catalogue (*CBIMA*) image Nos. D2 and D4. (b) In a four-armed standing image now in the British Museum Viṣṇu is holding only the three attributes—a mace, a wheel and a conch in his three hands; and the fourth one, i.e., the right upper hand, is represented as if bestowing a boon. —R. P. Chanda, p. 44. (c) In one of Viṣṇu's icons from Mathura he is also figured as seated on *padmāsana* with two hands in *dhyāna-mudrā* and holding a *cakra* and a *gadā* in the other two.—*CBIMA*, No. 1684.

[2] Many *āyudha-puruṣa* images belonging to the post-Gupta and medieval period are in the collection of the Mathura Museum. —*CBIMA*, Nos. 2057, 370, 81J, 816-20, 853, 864, 890, 968 and 940.

[3] *CBIMA*, Nos. 1206, 1285, 257 and 1503.

"The artistic formula of Śeṣaśāyī Visṇu represents the purāṇic elaboration of the myth which seeks to explain the relation of the cosmic deity Viṣṇu with absolute counterpart known as Ananta or Śeṣa because it symbolises that aspect of Viṣṇu which escapes from creation as its infinite remainder.

"Brahmā seated on a lotus rising from the navel (*nābhī* or centre) of Viṣṇu represents the creative urge of principle of growth which becomes active when the two demons Madhu & Kaiṭabha symbolising *rajas* and *tamas* are brought under control."—*CBIMA*, p. 22.

[4] In the *prabhāvali* of the Viṣṇu image No. 1569 of Mathura Museum all the ten incarnations were carved, of which six are still visible. These incarnations are of Vāmana(dwarf), Paraśurāma, Rāma, Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Kalkī. The first, third and fifth incarnations are on the right side of the central figure and the remaining are on the left. Brahmā and Śiva were on a level with

of Nṛsiṁha, a woman and Varāha respectively. In the images available so far, however, only three faces are visible, that of woman being perhaps dropped out, to suit the sculptor's convenience.[1]

Specially popular were the images of Viṣṇu as Trivikrama measuring the universe with his outstretched left leg[2], and as

---

Viṣṇu's head but now Śiva's head is the only one preserved. On the top of the slab of another Viṣṇu image from Mathura are figured the miniatures of the four seated sages, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana and Sanatkumāra and of the ten incarnations, i.e., (1) the fish, (2) the tortoise with two figures churning the ocean, (3) the boar, (4) the man-lion disemboweling the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, (5) the dwarf, (6) Paraśurāma, (7) Rāma, (8) Kṛṣṇa, (9) Buddha and (10) Kalkī (the future incarnation) on horseback.—ibid. D21 Beneath the chapels of another image there are the ten *avatāras* as well as Navagrahas. The *Grahas* which are preserved are Śukra, Śaniścara, Rāhu and Ketu. Of the *avatāras*, the fish, the tortoise, the boar, the man-lion and the dwarf are preserved.—ibid., D54.

[1] Viṣṇu's image in the Lakṣmaṇajī temple at Khajuraho is three-headed and four-armed. The central face is of a man signifying Viṣṇu himself and other two are those of Nṛsiṁha and Varāha. Viṣṇu's three-faced images were also endowed with eight hands. According to Varāhamihira in case of Viṣṇu's eight-handed image the three right hands were to hold a sword, a club of gold or iron, an arrow, and the fourth right hand was to be shown as it were drawing water. In his four left hands he was to hold a shield, a bow, a *cakra* and a conch. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* speaks of the three faces and the eight hands of Viṣṇu, seated on his vehicle Garuḍa. But no such image of Viṣṇu has been discovered so far. An eight-handed image with the three faces but without the bird Garuḍa is available from Jhalavada in Rajasthan. Its central face is that of a man and Varāha and Nṛsiṁha are on its left and right respectively. It is ornamented with a *mukuṭa* on head, *kuṇḍalas* in the ears, *ekāvali* and *hāra* in the neck, the sacred thread on the chest, bracelets, and foot-ornaments. The two flying Gandharvas are on the back, a geniform Garuḍa below the knees of Viṣṇu and the two attendants with *cakra* and *śaṅkha* in their hands standing below Viṣṇu's left and right knees respectively, perhaps representing themselves as *āyudha-puruṣas*. The order of weapons is in accordance with that of Varāhamihira described above.—*Maru Bhāratī*.

[2] *CBIMA*, No. 2644. In a 8th century stone sculpture from Rajim in the Raipur district of Central Provinces the God Trivikrama is seen also with the figure of Ādiśeṣa, sitting on the coils

Varāha lifting the earth on his left elbow.[1] Paraśurāma's image, according to the *Agni Purāṇa* was to have four hands each carrying a *paraśu*, a *khadga*, an arrow and a bow.[2] The images of Rāma though not common in the early part of the period were not unknown. Varāhamihira says that Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, should be figured 120 cubits high.[3] According to the *Agni Purāṇa*, he was to have four hands bearing respectively a bow, an arrow, a sword and a conch.[4] In the Daśāvatāra temple of Devagadha (A.D. 600) Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Sītā are shown as being received by Lopāmudrā in the hermitage of Agastya. In a seventh century temple of Nālandā, Rāma is shown with a bow and an arrow.[5] In his Buddhāvatāra, Viṣṇu was sculptured seated cross-legged on a lotus holding a mace and a wheel in each one of his two hands and keeping the other two on his lap in the *dhyānamudrā*.[6]

---

of the seven-headed serpent. Ādiśeṣa's head is associated with the hoofs of the serpent and he is adoring Trivikrama, with his folded hands. The sculpture perhaps indicates to Trivikrama's myth of taking two steps, one over heaven and the other over earth but leaving the dominion of Pātāla to Bali.—G.N. Rao.

A 9th century image of dwarf (Vāmana or Trivikrama) incarnation is in the Stuart-Bridge collection of the British museum. The sculpture belongs to Bengal and is a detailed one depicting the whole myth of the incarnation. It illustrates Bali's queen, his grand-father Prahlāda, the chief priest represented as if warning Bali not to comply with Vāmana's request of as much land as he could step over in his three paces. The God Trivikrama himself is shown as four-armed holding a sword in a striking pose in the upper right hand, a conch-shell in the left lower hand and keeping the right lower hand on his hip in an attempt to press the earth with right foot and rising up the left to measure the earth. Brahmā standing on the left is carved above as worshipping Trivikrama.—R. P. Chanda, op cit., pp. 62-63.

[1] *CBIMA*, Nos. 1114, 2302 and 2492; Kannauj in the series *UPSK*, plate No. 2.

India during the period of survey was threatened by invasions from the north-west very often. These tides of foreign invasions ever submerged it. She therefore naturally venerated those forms of Viṣṇu in which the world was freed from the tyranny of *asuras* and the earth brought up and freed from the *asura's* clutches.

[2] *AP*, Chap. 49, v. 5.
[3] *BS*, Chap. 58, v. 30.
[4] *AP*, Chap. 49, v. 6.
[5] *JUPHS*, 1950, p. 199.
[6] *CBIMA*, Nos. D 37 and 379.

Of references to Viṣṇu in the inscriptions of royal families, royal officials and the common people, there are many. King Devaśakti of the Pratihāra dynasty was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu.[1] In the Gwalior inscription dated v.s. 933, Alla, a royal officer serving as the guardian of the Gwalior Fort under the Pratihāra King Bhoja, is credited with the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu under the name of Vaillabhaṭṭa Svāmī.[2] Another inscription of the reign of Pratihāra Mahipāla discovered in Ukha Mandir at Bayana dated in v.s. 1012, says that a temple of Viṣṇu was erected by the queen Citralekhā.[3]

A very important group of Vaiṣṇava temples erected between the 8th and 10th centuries is represented also by the Hindu temples at Osia in Rajasthan which was for a long period under the Pratihāras. On the outside walls of most of the temples are found the carvings of the principal Viṣṇu incarnations such as Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Trivikrama, Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, and the Buddha. The images of Navagrahas are figured on the shrine door of almost every Hindu sanctuary.[4]

In v.s. 718 Yaśomatī, the wife of Mahārāja Varāhasiṁha, the chief leader of the Guhila king Aparājita of Mewar, constructed a temple in honour of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa.[5] In the reign of the Guhila Bhartṛbhaṭṭa II (A.D. 943) of Mewar, a person named Ādivarāha built a temple of God Ādivarāha at the sacred site Gaṅgodbheda (now called Gangodbhava) at Aghata or Ahar which was one of the old capitals of Mewar.[6] The copperplates of the Paramāra kings Sīyaka I, Vākpati I and Bhoja bear the figures of a flying Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu, holding a cobra in his left hand.[7] In the Hansola grants of Sīyaka issued in v.s. 1005, Viṣṇu is invoked as Nṛsiṁha.[8]

---

[1] Pratābgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla II, v.s. 1003.—*EI*, XIV, p. 182.

[2] The inscription of Vaillabhattasvāmī, v.s. 933.—*EI*, I, p. 152.

[3] Ukha Mandir at Bayana.—*PRAS WC*, 1918-9, p. 43.

[4] The Temples of Osia.—*ASIR*, 1907-8.

[5] Udaipur Inscription of Aparājita.—*EI*, IV, p. 31.

[6] Annual Report of Rajputana Museum, 1913-14, p. 2.

[7] Introduction to 'An odd plate of Paramāra Sīyaka,' of v.s. 1026, edited by D.B. Diskalkar.—*EI*, XIX, p. 178.

[8] Two Hansola Grants of Paramāra Sīyaka.—*EI*, XIX, p. 241.

According to the Bādal Pillar Inscription, Gurava Miśra, the minister of the Pālas, erected a *Garuḍa Stambha*, with a figure of Garuḍa on its top.[1] In the third year of the reign of Mahipāladeva, a merchant of the village of Bilkindeka, built an image of Nārāyaṇa standing on a lotus.[2] The Pathāri stone pillar inscription of Parabala Rāṣṭrakūṭa states that he built a temple of Viṣṇu or Śauri with a Garuḍa pillar before it in the year A.D. 861.[3] Chandella Prince Yaśovarman installed in A.D. 953-4 an idol of Viṣṇu.[4] His grandson Devalabdi built many temples of Viṣṇu-Varāha in the Dudhai area in Khajuraho.[5] A good description of the shrines of Viṣṇu built in Kashmir between A.D. 600 and 1000 is preserved in the *Rājataraṅginī*. Of the Karkoṭā kings Durlabhavardhana consecrated the temple of Viṣṇu Durlabhasvāmin at Śrinagar.[6] The temples of Viṣṇu Malhaṇasvāmin and of Tribhuvanasvāmin were built by his son Malhaṇa and grandson Candrāpīḍa, respectively.[7] Durlabhavardhana's teacher Mihirdatta founded the temple of Gambhīrasvāmin and his Nagarapāla Calitaka that of Calitasvāmin.[8] Viṣṇu was the favourite deity also of Durlabhavardhana's son Lalitāditya. He consecrated many Viṣṇu images with the names of Keśavasvāmin, Muktasvāmin, Mukteśa, Parihāsakeśava, Mahāvarāha, Govardhanasvāmin and Rāmasvāmin.[9] His queen Kamalāvatī erected the temple of Viṣṇu Kamalakeśava[10], and his feudatory Kayya, built the temple of Viṣṇu Kayyasvāmin.[11] In the reign of Jayapīḍa the popularity of Viṣṇu was held so great that Kalhaṇa remarked that "Keśava showing his quadruple form as well as reclining on the serpent had truly taken up his abode (there), abandoning his residence in Viṣṇu's world."[12] Jayāpīḍa's mother built

---

[1] *EI*, II, pp. 160 ff.
[2] *EI*, XVI, pp. 353 ff.
[3] *EI*, IX, pp. 248 ff.
[4] *EI*, I, pp. 123-5. The temple has been identified by Cunningham with the temple now known as Lakṣamaṇajī or Caturbhuja temple at Khajuraho.—*Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, p. 188.
[5] *IA*, VIII, p. 237.
[6] *RT*, IV. 6.
[7] ibid., 4 & 55.
[8] ibid., 80, 81.
[9] ibid., 183, 188, 195-8, 201-2 & 275.
[10] ibid., 208.
[11] ibid., 209.
[12] ibid., 508.

the temple of Amṛtakeśava for the mokṣa of her deceased son.[1] In the reign of Ajitapīḍa, five temples of Viṣṇu as of Utpalasvāmin, Padmasvāmin, Dharmasvāmin, Kalyāṇasvāmin, and Mammasvāmin were built by each of his five ministers namely Utpala, Padma, Dharma, Kalyāṇa and Mamma, respectively.[2] The Utpala kings continued this patronage of Viṣṇu. The king Avantivarman, his two brothers, Sūravarman and Samara and his minister Prabhākaravarman, each built a temple of Viṣṇusvāmin naming it after his own name.[3] His irrigation minister Suyya built a temple of Viṣṇu at the confluence of Sindhu and Vitastā rivers and called the deity Hṛṣikeśa-Yogasvāmin.[4] The temples of Gopāla Keśava and Nandā Keśava were built by queen Sugandhā and her daughter-in-law Nandā, in the early years of 10th century.[5] Meruvardhana, a minister of King Pārtha (A.D. 906-921), consecrated the shrine of Viṣṇu Meruvardhanasvāmin.[6] The temple of Viṣṇu Yaśaskarasvāmin was begun by the Brāhmaṇa King Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-48) but left it incomplete. It was completed by his successor Parvagupta.[7] The temples of Viṣṇu Phālguṇa and Bhīmakeśava were respectively built by Kṣemagupta's minister Phālguṇa and by Bhīma, the maternal grandfather of queen Diḍḍā.[8] Diḍḍā herself built four Viṣṇu temples, to wit, of Abhimanyusvāmin, of Siṁhasvāmin, and the two of Diḍḍāsvāmin.[9]

The famous Caturbhuja temple of Viṣṇu at Gwalior was built by the Governor of the fort in A.D. 875.[10] The Teṭī-kā-Mandir, another Viṣṇu edifice there, is believed to have been built in the 10th or 11th century.[11] The Siyāḍoni inscription refers to a large number of donations made at different times from V.S. 960 down to V.S. 1025, by many private individuals in favour of a temple of Viṣṇu, to provide the articles necessary for the worship of the deity.[12]

---

[1] ibid., 659.
[2] ibid., 695-99.
[3] ibid., V. 45, 23, 25 & 30.
[4] ibid., 100.
[5] ibid., 244-5.
[6] ibid., 267-8.
[7] *RT*, VI, 140.
[8] ibid., 169, 178.
[9] ibid., 299-302 & 304.
[10] *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 141.
[11] ibid., p. 137.
[12] *EI*, I, p. 173.

As the grants mentioned therein were made either by the traders or artisans, Viṣṇu must necessarily have been popular with them. In the city of Thaneswar was the famous idol of Viṣṇu called Cakrasvāmī. It was of bronze and was nearly of the size of a man. It held the *cakra* (discus) as its weapon and was believed to have been made in the time of Bhārata war to commemorate the great battle.[1]

VAISNAVA SECTS

During the reign of the Gupta rulers, who call themselves as *Paramabhāgavatas* in their epigraphic records, Vaiṣṇavism in Northern India was in a most flourishing state which seems to have continued for some decades more even after the decline of the Gupta empire. Bāṇa in the seventh century mentions two Vaiṣṇava sects, the Bhāgavatas and the Pāñcarātrikas respectively explained as the devotees of Viṣṇu and the members of a Vaiṣṇava sect by Śaṅkara, the commentator of the *Harṣacarita*.[2] Both these sects along with two more, the Sātvatas and the Ekāntins, are mentioned even in the Śāntiparva of the *Mahābhārata*.[3] Of these ancient Vaiṣṇava sects the Śātvatas and the Ekāntins seem to have lost their separate existence during the Gupta period both being absorbed by Gupta Bhāgvatism which is characterised as "a syncretism of various Vaiṣṇavite beliefs which had come to stay in the country."[4] But the Pāñcarātrikas continued their separate existence. About one and a half century after Bāṇa, Śaṅkarācārya discusses the philosophical viewpoints of both the Bhāgavatas and the Pāñcarātrikas in his *bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras*.[5] Rājaśekhara (10th century) calls the Pāñcarātra theories by the name of the *samayavidyā* or the current theory.[6]

[1] Sachau, I, p. 117.

[2] भागवतैर्विष्णुभक्तैः—*HC*, VIII, p. 236; पान्चरात्रिकैर्वैष्णवभेदैः—ibid., p. 237.

[3] Raychaudhari, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 12.

[4] The Gupta Bhāgavatism has rightly been described as having originated from the mixture of Viṣṇu of the Vedic Brahmanism, Nārāyaṇa of the Pāñcarātras, Kṛṣna-Vāsudeva of the Sātvatas, Gopāla of a pastoral people, etc. (*History of Bengal*, p. 402). The Viśvarūpa images of Viṣṇu consisting of the faces of Nṛsiṁha and Varāha, which are commonly found in the Gupta period, are believed to have been introduced by the Satvatas. The Ekāntins worshipped Vāsudeva alone. The religion promulgated in the *Bhagavadgītā* is known as monotheism or the Ekāntikadharma.—*VSMS*, p. 54.

[5] II. 2. 42 & 44.

[6] *KM*, p. 38.

According to Dr. F. Otto Schrader, the Pāñcarātra school derived its name from its central dogma of the five-fold manifestations of the Highest God Vāsudeva, namely, *para*, *vyūha*, *vibhava*, *antaryāmin* and *arcā* forms, which has again for its basis the Pāñcarātra *sattra* described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[1] The first systematic exposition of the system is found in the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata* where it is said to have been revealed to the great sage Nārada by Nārāyaṇa himself. Later on, the Pāñcarātrikas developed their own sectarian scriptures known as Pāñcarātra *Saṁhitās*. The doctrine of the *caturvyūha* or the fourfold emanations of God Vāsudeva was the Pāñcarātrikas' central theme to distinguish them from other Vaiṣṇavite groups. According to Śaṅkarācārya the Bhāgavatas also, like the Pāñcarātrikas, believed in the *caturvyūha* theory. They believed in the highest power of Vāsudeva whose nature they defined as Pure Knowledge and He himself is what really exists. He, later on, divided himself into four forms (*vyūhas*) as Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha each representing the Highest-Self, the individual soul, the mind and the egoity respectively. The first form constitutes the ultimate causal essence, of which the other three are mere effects. That is to say that the Bhāgavatas laid down a degree of distinction between the three latter forms saying that Śaṁkarṣaṇa or the individual soul was the first effect to spring forth directly from the body of Vāsudeva, Pradyumna (the mind) coming out of Saṁkarṣaṇa's body as his instrument and Aniruddha from that of Pradyumna. But the Pāñcarātrikas, according to Śaṅkarācārya, knew no such distinction between Vāsudeva and the other lords, and regarded all of them as direct emanations of Vāsudeva.[2]

The subject-matter of the *Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās* can be classified under the four heads of Jñānapāda, Yogapāda, Kriyāpāda and Caryāpāda. The Pāñcarātrikas like the Bhāgvatas seem to have developed elaborate rules regarding the temple construction because a true Pāñcarātrika believed that after having worshipped Vāsudeva by means of *abhigamana*, i.e., approach to the temple, along with *upādāna* (procuring of the things to be offered), *ijyā* (oblation), *svādhyāya* (recitation of prayers, etc.) and *yoga* (devout meditation),

---

[1] *Introduction to Pāñcarātra and Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, p. 25.

[2] II. 2, 42 & 44.

one passed beyond all affliction and reached the Highest Being.[1]

Another important sect of the Vaiṣṇavas was of the Vaikhānasas who were the forest-dwelling hermits and ascetics. According to the *Vaikhānasa Dharmasūtra* they had to follow certain rules of life in the matters of food, dress, manners of living, etc.[2] Bhavabhūti (8th cen.) describes them as old household ascetics who lived under the trees in the penance groves situated on the bank of the hill-streams, were highly hospitable to guests, ate the wild rice grains (*nīvāra*) and followed the *śamidharma*.[3] According to their sectarian scriptures called the *Āgamas*, the Vaikhānasas worshipped Pañcavīras or Satyapañcakas, i.e., Viṣṇu and his four companions, Acyuta, Satya, Puruṣa and Aniruddha. The performance of the Vedic *yajñas*, etc. also formed a part of their rituals.[4]

SURYA

Another popular deity was Sūrya. The inscriptions of Ādityasena and Jīvitagupta II from Shahpur and Deo-Barnark (Shahabad Dist.) respectively refer to solar worship.[5] Among the early Gurjara kings, Dadda II and Raṇagraha were the worshippers of Sūrya.[6] The Valabhī king Śilāditya I (A.D. 609) donated land to a temple of the Sun in the Bhādraṇyaka village in the Bāra forest to meet the expenses of the repair and damages to the temple and to provide the requirements of daily worship, e.g., *pūjā* (worship), *snāpana* (bath), *gandha* (scents), *puṣpa* (flowers) *dīpa* (lamp), *taila* (oil), *vādya* (music), *gīta* (song), *nṛtya* (dance) and *vali-caru-sattra* (offerings), out of the grant.[7] In the quinquennial assembly called by Harṣa, the image of the Sun god was installed along with the images of the Buddha and Śiva.[8] Three of Harṣa's ancestors, Rājyavardhana

---

[1] ibid., p. 494. Schradar, *Introduction to Pāñcarātra and Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, p. 22.

[2] The *Vaikhānasa-śrautasūtram* treats of the duties and obligations of the *Vānaprasthas*, and it is on this account that the third stage of man's life, known as *Vānaprasthāśrama* came to be named *Vaikhānasāśrama*—*Vaikhānasa-Śrautasūtram*, Preface, p. xxix.

[3] *URC*, I. 25.

[4] *HCSA*, pp. 109, 191.

[5] *CII*, III, pp. 209-10, 213-18.

[6] H. D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujrat*, p. 212.

[7] The Grant of Śilāditya I, G.E. 290.—*PRAS* WC, 1919-20, p. 54.

[8] Beal, *Life of Yuan Chwang*, p. 186.

Ādityavardhana and Prabhākaravardhana, were devotees of Sūrya.[1] In Kānyakubja there stood many temples of Sun in Yuan Chwang's time.[2] In the Pratihāra dynasty of Kannauj the two kings Rāmabhadra and Vināyakapāla are described as ardent devotees of Sūrya (*pramādityabhaktas*).[3] Lalitāditya of Kashmir built a temple of Āditya at Lalitapura in the 8th cen. A D.[4] The famous temple of Mārtaṇḍa, the ruins of which still bespeak its past grandeur, was also built by him.[5] The Sun worship in Kashmir remained in vogue even after Lalitāditya.[6] A large number of Sun images ascribed to the Pāla period prove the prevalence of the cult in Bengal also.[7]

In Rajasthan the solar cult seems to have been especially popular, during the period. A Sun image showing the god seated on a lotus seat, holding a lotus in the right hand and keeping the left on his knee in the *āsanamudrā*, has been discovered from Jodhpur. The image now known as Toṇkeśvara is ascribed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar to the 7th or 8th cen. A.D.[8] Dholpur has a Sun temple, called Bhāsvat, of the 9th cen. A.D.[9] The famous Sun temple at Osia is generally ascribed to the 10th cen. A.D.[10] The Jagatsvāmin's temple at Bhinmala is also one of the old Sun temples in Northern India.[11] Another ancient temple of Sūrya was in the Varmana village of Sirohi, on the pillars of which are the inscriptions of the 9th and 10th centuries.[12] The Indrāditya temple of Sun was built by Bhartṛpaṭṭa II of Pratāpgarh in the year A.D. 942.[13]

---

[1] Bańskhera Plate of Harṣa.—*EI*, II, p. 210 and *HC*, IV, p. 123.

[2] Watters, I, p. 352.

[3] Pratābgarh Inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla II, V.S. 1003.—*EI*, XIV, p. 182.

[4] *RT*, IV. 187.

[5] ibid., 192; R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 131 ff.

[6] *RT*, V. 449.

[7] *HB*, Vol. I, p. 456.

[8] *ASIR*, 1909-10, p. 94.

[9] Dholpur Inscription of Cāhamāna Caṇḍamahāsena.—*ZDMG*, XL, p. 38.

[10] *ASIR*, 1908-9, pp. 101-115.

[11] *Jodhpur Rājya kā Itihāsa*, (Hindi), p. 52.

[12] *Sirohi Rājya kā Itihāsa*, (Hindi), pp. 22 ff.

[13] Pratābgarh Inscription of King Bhartṛpaṭṭa, V.S. 999—*EI*, XIV, p. 187.

The large number of the remains of the early Sun temples in the South-Western parts of Kathiawad indicates the great popularity of the cult there in ancient times. The Kavi Grant of the Gujarata Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govindrāja, made in the S.E. 749, mentions a grant made by the king in favour of a Sūrya temple at Kavi.[1] In the 9th century a temple of Sūrya called Taruṇāditya was situated on the Kaṇavīrikā river. Two Caulukya kings Valavarman and his successor Avantivarman II made gifts in favour of the deity in the years A.D. 893 and 899 respectively.[2] The great Sūrya temple at Modhera in Gujarat was erected a little after the period, i.e., A.D. 1026.[3]

The most famous centre of Sun worship, during the period, was at Multan. Its Sun temple is described by Yuan Chwang[4], Abuzaid, Almasudi, Al-Istakhri[5] and Alberuni, the last of whom observes : "It was of wood and covered with red Cordovan leather; in its two eyes were two red rubies. It is said to have been made in the last *kṛtayuga*. Suppose it was made in the very end of *kṛtayuga*, the time which has since elapsed amounts to 216,432 years." The Hindus of Multan had a festival called Sāmbapurayātrā in honour of the deity.[6] How deeply the temple was venerated by them is evident from Al-Istakhri's following remark, "when the Indians make war and endeavour to seize the idol, the inhabitants bring it out, pretending that they will break it and burn it; upon this the Indians retire; otherwise they would destroy Multan."[7]

The Āryas worshipped the actual orb of the Sun. The form in which he was worshipped at Multan, and the image of the Sun as described by Varāhamihira in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* are obviously of a foreign deity whose worship had been imported into India.[8] According to Varāhamihira the Sun was to be dressed in the Northern style, his whole body was to be covered and he was to be

---

[1] *IA*, V. 144.
[2] *EI*, IX, p. 102.
[3] *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, p. 136.
[4] Beal, *Life of Yuan Chwang*, p. 152.
[5] *ED*, I, pp. 11, 23, 27.
[6] Sachau, I, p. 116. But according to Yuan Chwang the image was cast out of Yellow gold.—*Life*, p. 152.
[7] *ED*, I, pp. 27-8.
[8] *VSMS*, pp. 218-22 and see *infra* p. 158.

represented as holding two lotuses in his hands, bearing a crown on his head and a pair of *kuṇḍalas* in his ears, having a long necklace of pearls and a girdle round his waist.[1] According to the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* also the Sun was not to be represented with bare feet. Thus in the whole Hindu pantheon he is the only god who is shown as wearing shoes.[2]

Many medieval images of the Sun god in the seated and standing postures and holding lotuses in hands are preserved in the Mathura museum. In some of these icons he is shown seated in his chariot of seven horses driven by Aruṇa, the charioteer. In some figures his two attendants Piṅgala and Daṇḍa are represented on either side. In one figure Piṅgala, on the right, holds a pen and paper, and Daṇḍa, on the left, probably a sword. In another sculpture both the attendants are holding swords.[3] In the sculpture No. D-16 of the solar group in the Mathura museum we see on its each side a band of three figures comprising garland bearing celestials, Uṣā and Pratyūṣā driving away darkness, and the two standing females, probably Nikṣaubha and Rajanī representing the earth and the air.[4] A Sun-face looking out from a stone window in the wall of an old Sun temple at Vasantgarh in the Sirohi state is noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar as being of the 7th cen. A.D.[5] In a post-Gupta sculpture of the Stuart-Bridge collection Sūrya holds a lotus in his two hands. On the base are the seven horses driving his one-wheeled chariot. His two wives Savarṇā and Chāyā stand on either side fanning him with fly-whisks and one more female figure, probably the earth-goddess, is between the feet of the principal figure. The two attendants Piṅgala and Daṇḍa, are represented in the usual way.[6] In another image belonging to the early Pāla period and exhibited in the same collection, even the two wheels of the chariot are carved on the base.[7] One more

---

[1] *BS*, Chap. 58, vv. 46-7.

[2] *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, Chap. 139. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar opines that the original foreign character of a Sun icon can be proved by showing him as wearing long boots.—*VSMS*, op. cit.

[3] *CBIMA*, Nos. 1979, 2507, D3, D45, 155, 542, 750, 822, 823, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1215, 1290, 1968, 2031, 2339, D 16, D 48 and D1.

[4] ibid., p. 72.

[5] *History of Indian Art* by V. Smith, p. 205.

[6] R. P. Chanda, p. 45.

[7] ibid., p. 66.

Sūrya image of the Stuart-Bridge collection is of about the 10th cen. A.D. In this the god himself, his two wives and the two attendants are all shown as wearing boots. The one-wheeled chariot driven by the seven horses is represented along with the charioteer Aruṇa.[1] A Sun image excavated from Rajmahal hills and belonging to the Bihar School of sculptures can be seen in the India section of Victoria and Albert museum of England. The god therein is figured standing in a lotus-shaped chariot driven as usual. The god himself, his legless charioteer and the two female attendants with fly-whisks are good specimens of the sculptor's workmanship.[2]

We have instances also of Sūrya worshipped in the old Āryan way. After bathing early in the morning and clading himself in white silken robes, Prabhākaravardhana knelt towards the east on the ground within a circle smeared with saffron paste, to present the offerings of red lotus to the Sun, as if it were his own heart. Afterwards thrice a day he muttered the sacred Āditya-hṛdaya-mantra.[3]

The *Sūryaśataka* of Mayūra makes no reference to any image of Sun. The epithets of the Sun which he uses most frequently are those which describe the beauty of his rays.[4] Some refer to his ability to bring heat and daylight[5], less frequently he is described as the stimulator and the maintainer of the universe. This idea as we know comes down to us from almost the earliest dawn of vedic civilisation.[6] In some verses he is identified with the Veda.[7] Bhavabhūti salutes Sūrya in the *nāndī* verses of his *Mālatī-mādhava*.[8] The *Veṇīsaṁhāra* speaks of the worship of the rising Sun with the offerings of water, sandal paste, flowers and salutation.[9]

GAṆEŚA

Gaṇeśa, who is to-day worshipped as one of the foremost deities of the Hindu pantheon, rose to prominence about the 6th cen.

---

[1] ibid.
[2] ibid.
[3] *HC*, Chap. IV, p. 123.
[4] Stanzas 1-43.
[5] Stanzas 85-87, 95-96.
[6] See the well-known Gāyatrī *mantra*.
[7] Nos. 91, 92, 93 and 88.
[8] Act I, v. 5.
[9] Act II, p. 55.

A.D. In the Purāṇas he is generally described as the eldest son of Śiva and the leader of his attendants. In many legends connected with his life, he is variously named as Vināyaka, Vakratuṇda, Ekadanta, Gaṇapati, Vighneśvara, Akhuratha, Siddhidāta, Heramba, Lambodara, Dvidehaka, Gajānana and Bāla-Gaṇapati.[1] The *Agni Purāṇa* assigns to him many characteristics of Śiva. He is called Tripurāntaka, snakes encircle his shoulders, and the moon is on his forehead.[2] Thus in the Purāṇas, we see him affiliated to the Śaivite group of divinities.[3]

In the *Agni* and *Varāha Purāṇas* Gaṇeśa is represented as created to raise obstacles in the fulfilment of peoples' objectives.[4] This was probably his original character, for even in the seventh century, Bāṇa knew him as the 'Lord of obstacles' who created hindrances in the attainment of the *siddhi* of all *vidyās*.[5] But by that time he had developed other characteristics also. He is described by Rājaśekhara[6] and Alberuni[7] as the scribe of the great sage Vyāsa, the writer of the famous epic *Mahābhārata*.[8] In the eighth century Bhavabhūti invokes the pot-bellied god in the opening verses of the *Mālatīmādhava* with the words "May the shaking of the head of Vināyaka accompanied with loud cry long protect you."[9] Vākpati, a contemporary of Bhavabhūti, included him among the other important deities whose benediction he

---

[1] Allice Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, p. xxv.

[2] Chap. 348, p. 23.

[3] See also *Brahma Purāṇa* in which Śiva bears Gaṇeśa's names (40, 15) and *Vāyu Purāṇa* where Śiva is described as Gajendrakarṇa, Lambodara and Danṣṭrin (24, 147, 30, 183).

[4] *AP*, Chap. 266, vv. 1-2.

[5] *HC*, III, p. 104.

[6] *Bālabhārata*. See also Allice Getty's *Monograph on Gaṇeśa*, p. 3.

[7] Sachau, I, p. 134.

[8] A miniature of the painting of the 17th century, which is now preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, represents Gaṇeśa as a four-armed god worshipping Vyāsa. In his right upper hand corner is Brahmā who procured Gaṇeśa to write for Vyāsa. The text of the miniature states that while Vyāsa was busy in adoring Brahmā, Ganeśa suddenly came on the spot, who when worshipped consented to act as his scribe.—*Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, XXIV, April 1928, Coomaraswamy.

[9] Act I, v. 2.

invoked in the *Gauḍavāho*.[1] "Under the name Gaṇapati he becomes a most important deity towards the tenth century, when a mystic and powerful section, the Gāṇapatyas, established his supremacy to the exclusion of every Hindu god, even of his reputed parents Śiva and Pārvatī."[2] Nor could the Gāṇapatyas remain uninfluenced by Tāntrism, the chief feature of the age.[3] Like other gods he was also associated with Śakti.[4] Gaṇeśāṇī is one of the 64 Yoginis and she is represented in the Causaṭh Yogīni temple in Bheraghat (Madhya Pradesh).[5]

Gaṇeśa was specially worshipped on the fourth day of the bright-half in the month of Māgha with sweetmeats, incense, etc.[6] According to the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* a special worship was offered to him in Kashmir on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Jyeṣṭha and the day was called Vināyakāṣṭamī.[7] In the town of Avantipur in Kashmir the cooked food, sweets, etc. were offered to him which were later on sold in the market.[8]

According to Varāhamihira, Gaṇeśa's idol was to have an elephantine face, a bulging belly, a hatchet in the hand, one tooth and a radish.[9] Śukra calls upon a king to build in his capital the temple of Gaṇeśa. According to him the image was to be red-coloured like copper, with an elephant's face, man's body, long ears, long belly, thick but short neck, thick legs, short hands, long trunk turned to the left like a slightly upturned staff, suspended left tusk and his own vehicle.[10]

---

[1] vv. 52-54.

[2] Allice Getty, *Gaṇeśa—A Monograph*, p. 5.

[3] Śaṅkarācārya, the great Vedāntin, is said in the *Śāṅkara-digvijaya* to have disputed the tenets of all the six divisions of Gāṇapatyas, viz., the worshippers of Gaṇeśa as Mahā, Haridra, Svarṇa, Santāna, Navanīta and Unmattaucchriṣṭa.—*VSMS*, p. 150.

[4] The Bhumara Image (6th cen.) is perhaps the earliest representation of Gaṇeśa associated with Śakti. In this sculpture Ganeṣa holds Śakti near his left hip.—Coomaraswamy, op. cit.

[5] R. D. Banerjee, *The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*, pp. 79 ff.

[6] *AP*, Chap. 179.

[7] *NMP*, vv. 1698-700.

[8] *Samayamāṭṛkā*, 76-77. Some images of Gaṇeśa have also been discovered from the ruins of the city of Avantipura.—*ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 53.

[9] *BS*, Chap. 58, v. 58.

[10] *SNS*, IV. 397, 487-9.

Many icons of Gaṇeśa in different postures such as seated, standing and dancing, have been discovered in Northern India. We mention a few here. In a temple of goddess Śākambharī in Sekhavati, whence an inscription dated v.s. 879 has also been found, the goddess is placed in the centre with Kubera and Gaṇeśa on her right and left respectively.[1] Gaṇeśa is similarly represented in the shrine of Pippalā-Mātā at Osia.[2] In the Ghaṭiyālā inscription, which is nearly of the same period, i.e., A.D. 862, he is addressed as Vināyaka and the bestower of *siddhi* (success).[3] On the top of the stone column, on which the Ghaṭiyālā inscription is carved, there are four images of Gaṇeśa facing the four directions perhaps indicating his association with the *diggajas*. An eight-armed image of the Pāla period shows him in a dancing posture. In his three right hands he holds an *akṣamāla* (rosary), a *paraśu* (axe) and a broken tusk. The fourth right hand is raised as if it is blessing. In his four left hands he holds a lotus, a *modaka*, a pot and a cobra. A running cat is carved on the pedestal.[4] His figures, both dancing as well as seated, are found among the sculptures of the main Baijnātha temple. The figures are four-armed holding a *paraśu*, an *akṣamālā*, a lotus stalk and a pot of sweet *modakas*. In his dancing figure he also wears the *yajñopavīta* of snakes and the four musicians tuning the dancing also stand below.[5] From Orissa we have a ten-armed and five-faced image of Gaṇeśa with a goddess holding a lotus in her left hand and seated on Gaṇeśa's left lap.[6]

ŚAKTI OR DEVI

Śakti worship in India is partly rooted in tradition and partly in philosophic thought. The worship of the Mother-Goddess may have existed in India thousands of years before the beginning of the Christian era.[7] She was the Ambā of the Dravidians, the Mā of the Mediterranean people.[8] Philosophy helped her to maintain

---

[1] Śakrāi Inscription of v.s. 879.—*PRAS*, WC. 1909-10, p. 56.
[2] ibid.
[3] *EI*, IX, pp. 279 ff. [4] R. P. Chanda.
[5] "Sculptures in the Main Temple at Baijnath", *IHC*, 1950, pp. 102-3.
[6] R. P. Chanda, p. 74.
[7] E. Mackay, *Indus Civilisation*, p. 54.
[8] S. K. Chatterji, *Race Movements and Pre-Historic Culture* in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series, Vol. I.

this traditional ascendancy. If *Brahma* and *Puruṣa* were to be regarded as devoid of attributes and action, some one had to be assigned the task of creating the world and maintaining it, and who could be a fitter person for this than the Ādyā Śakti, Ādyā-Prakṛti, Māyā or *Līlā*.[1] Even if the Supreme Spirit be regarded as impassive, the entire gamut or activity could go on, if he were endowed with Śakti, energy or power. Without Śakti, as stated by the *Ānanda Laharī*, Parameśvara cannot even stir; as to creation it is bound to be out of question without her.[2] Śakti could thus be visualised in two ways. It was the inherent power of the Godhead, whether God was thought of as Viṣṇu, Śiva or Brahmā. She could be thought of subsisting by herself too and fulfilling all divine functions. The first position may have been reached by thinking that God has power : and the second by the further postulate that it is power that is God. A true Śākta (worshipper of Śakti) as differentiated from a Vaiṣṇava and a Śaiva, is a believer in the second position. To him Śakti is the *Parabrahman*, and the personification of the Universal Energy in the abstract.[3]

One of the best descriptions of Śakti is to be found in the Devī-Māhātmya of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* also known as the *Durgā Saptaśati*. Brahmā represents her as the creator, protector and destroyer of the universe and the substance of everything.[4] In the fourth chapter, we find her as the embodiment of the female Śakti, counterpart of all gods.[5] These when described separately are regarded as her manifestations. In the 5th chapter she is described as issuing out of Pārvatī's body.[6] In the 11th chapter she is called Nārāyaṇī; her manifestations are Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṅhī and Indrāṇī.[7] Perhaps there could have been no better plan of bringing all the sects in one fold whether they were Āryan or non-Āryan.[8] And the plan appears

---

[1] *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 493.
[2] v. 1.
[3] *Devībhāgavata Purāṇa*, III, VI, vv. 2-4.
[4] *DS*, I, 75-76; *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, 5.7.60.
[5] *DS*, IV, 3.
[6] *DS*, V, 187.
[7] *DS*, XI vv. 11-13.
[8] In the *Devī Bhāgavata* all village goddesses are regarded as the manifestations of the primordial Śakti.

to have succeeded eminently, because whatever their internal differences, the Bauddhas, the Jainas, the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas, all joined in the worship of Śakti. Śakti they felt was that manifestation of God-head which must be given universal recognition.

Mode of Worship

With so many divinities brought under the concept of one Śakti, there was bound to be diversity in the form of her worship. Purāṇas describe two aspects of Śakti, one pacific and the other terrible.[1] In the first form she is worshipped as Śiva's half-mate (*ardhāṅgiṇī*) under the names of Umā, Gaurī or Pārvatī. Durgā, Kālī, Caṇḍī, Caṇḍikā, Karālā, Raudrī, Bhairavī etc. represent her fierce forms.[2] In the guise of Durgā, Caṇḍikā or Kālī she kills demons, who perhaps had a pre-Āryan origin, and receives bloody sacrifices.[3] The chief votaries of one of such goddesses, the Vindhyavāsinī Durgā, were Draviḍas, Śabaras and Cāṇḍālas.[4] The way she was worshipped is graphically described by Bāṇa in a passage of the *Kādambarī* which we reproduce here omitting merely rhetorical embellishments and other unnecessary details[5]:

"Candrāpīḍa saw from afar a red flag tied on a red sandal tree. It was as it were waiting for the offering of the bodies of travellers. It was mounted over by a gold trident, attached to which were bells sounding frightfully and suspended by swinging iron chain fastened to its two prongs and was a *cāmara* consisting of hair from the mane of a lion. Going a little distance towards it Candrāpīḍa saw the image of Caṇḍikā within iron doors. The gate of the shrine was formed by an iron arch, having a string of plates of polished iron, and surrounded with a row of red *cauries*. In her front was set up an iron buffalo on a pedestal made of a slab of black stone. On its body were marks of red sandal made by the hand. To her were made offerings of holy flowers. In another part of the temple, the slaughter of animals killed and offered to the goddess had, as it were, put forth sprouts in the shape of heaps of the points of the crooked horns of stags, leaves

---

[1] *DS*, V. 13.
[2] *DS*, IX, 6.19, 23, ff.
[3] *DS*, XII, 10.
[4] *VSMS*, p. 205.
[5] *Kādambarī*, pp. 391-401, Riddling's English translation.

in the form of hundreds of bloody tongues, and fruits in the form of a circular array of heads. The courtyard of the temple was rendered slimy by streams of blood running there. The two panels of its inner door had lamps suspended from them, a string of the ring-like neck of peacocks, and a row of compactly strung bells white with balls of flour. The Caṇḍikā had her feet covered with a cloth of *alaktaka* dye. She wore a garland of *bilva* leaves intermixed with fruits and leaves smeared with red sandal wood. Her forehead was covered with golden cloth, and bedecked with the *tilaka* put there by *Bhīla* wives. In her ears were pomegranate flowers. Her lips were red with blood which served her as *tāmbūla* or betel. She wore a fine garment red with *kusumba* dye."[1]

With two different conceptions of Śakti, her worshippers too naturally fell into two divisions, the Dakṣināćārīs and Vāmāćārīs, i.e., the followers of the right way and the left way of worship respectively. There is nothing indecent about the rituals of the Dakṣināćāra nor anything extremely abstruse and we find them embodied in the Purāṇas, which were sectarian texts meant for popular consumption. According to the Purāṇic mode of worship Devī was worshipped with the offerings of animals, flowers, water, incense, sandal, lamp, feeding to Brāhmaṇas, *homa* or sacrifice, *pradakṣiṇā* (going round) and various other gifts.[2] In the month of *Āśvina* special worship was offered to her, and these days of worship are still known as Navarātra, i.e., the nine nights of Devī.[3]

The eighth, ninth and fourteenth day of the month was regarded as especially holy to Devī.[4] Ulkānavamī or Mahānavamī, the details of which we have discussed elsewhere, was a day of festivity dedicated to her.[5] Other ways, too, in which Śakti was worshipped found a place in the Śakta Tantras.[6]

---

[1] *Kādambarī's* description is almost similar to that of the *Gauḍavāho* in vv. 285-338.

[2] *DS*, XII. 20-21.

[3] ibid., 12.

[4] ibid., 4.

[5] See pp. 396-7.

[6] According to the *Devī Purāṇa* (Chap. 39, vv. 14-15) the chief centres of the *Vāma* form of Śakti worship were located in Rādha, Varendra, Kāmarūpa, Kāmākhyā, Bhoṭṭadeśa, etc.

Śakti in Her Various Forms

One alone in her ultimate form, Śakti could be seen in her various manifestations as Gaurī, Brahmāṇī, Sarasvatī, etc. The Śakti of every god was in fact primarily derived from her, and of the same nature as Herself, for energy remains the same howsoever it may manifest itself; and of her too as of *Brahman* it could rightly be said that though she is one she is called by the wise by various names as Ambikā, Kālī, Brahmāṇī, Indrāṇī, Umā, Lakṣmī, Girijā, etc.[1]

The consort or Śakti of Śiva was known as Gaurī and designated also as Pārvatī or Umā. In her benedictory form Śiva's consort was Gaurī. A lion-throne was her seat.[2] She formed also the left-half of Śiva's Ardhanārīśvara form with the moon on Śiva's head shining also over her locks.[3] Pārvatī according to Bāṇa put on the attire of a mountaineer and was regarded as the daughter of the Parvata Himālaya. She is a destroyer of demons and a maned lion is her vehicle.[4] In her former birth she is said to have been known as Śakti. As the consort of Rudra or the 'Terrible One,' she was Kālī, Mahākālī, Caṇḍikā, Cāmuṇḍā, Mahāmārī, etc. With Durgā were identified also the local and tribal goddesses like Kātyāyanī[5], Kauśikī, Kālikā, Vindhyavāsinī, Raktadantikā, Śatākṣī, Śākambharī, Bhīmā and Bhrāmarī.[6]

The Śakti of Viṣṇu, the protector of the whole world, was naturally called Śrī or Lakṣmī. Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī were associat-

---

[1] उमेति केचिदाहुस्तां शक्ति लक्ष्मी तथापरे।
भारतीत्यपरे चैनां गिरजेत्यम्बिकेति च॥
दुर्गेति भद्रकालीति चण्डी माहेश्वरीति च।
कौमारी वैष्णवी चेति वाराहीति तथापरे॥—*Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa.*
See also No. 7, p. 163,

[2] गौरीमहासिंहासनोचितमूर्तिः।—*Kādambarī*, p. 103.

[3] देहद्वयार्धघटनारचितं शरीरमेकं ययोरनुपलक्षितसंधिभेदम्।
वन्दे सुदुर्घटकथा परिशेषसिद्धयै सृष्टेर्गुरू गिरिसुता परमेश्वरौ तौ।
Kād., *uttarabhāga* v. I: अचलराजकन्यकाकेशपाशमिव नीलकण्ठचन्द्रकाभरणम् ibid., p. 62; अद्धणा रीसरस्सवामद्धे अकधिदा वि गोरी मुणी अदि॥
—*Kārpūramañjarī* I, p. 28.

[4] ईशानरचितानुचरितकिरातवेषमिवभवानीम्—*Kād.*, p. 21;
असुररुधिरपङ्कलेखालोहितसटमिव पार्वतीसिंहम्—ibid., p. 155.

[5] *VSMS*, p. 206.

[6] *DS*, V. 87, 88; XI. 42, 44, 47, 49, 52, 54.

ed with Brahmā.[1] As *Ekānaṁśā*, Śakti was associated with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma as their sister.[2] Māṭṛkās or Divine Mothers, seven, eight or sixteen were the personified energies of the chief deities.[3]

Some Epigraphic and Sculptural Data

The epigraphic data at our disposal show that Śakti worship was widespread during the period under review. As Durgā, she is invoked in the Vasantagarh Inscription of Varmalāṭa, dated v.s. 682;[4] and in the Pratāpgarh Inscription of Mahendrapāla II dated v.s. 1003.[5] In the latter record she is also remembered as the killer of Mahiṣāsura and as Kātyāyanī.[6] We find her as Śākambharī in a stone inscription from Sambhar dated v.s. 998[7], as Girijā in the Mālwā inscription of Vākpatirājadeva[8], as Durgā, Kālī, and Kātyāyanī in the Kinsāriyā inscription of v.s. 1056[9], and as Dadhimātā in the Dadhimatī Inscription of G.S. 289.[10]

---

[1] *HC*, I, pp. 9, 11. See also No. 2, p. 174

[2] *BS*, Chap. 58, v. 37.

[3] *DS*, IX. 62-3.

There is a great controversy regarding the number and names of the Mātṛgaṇas. Utpala (10th cen.) in his commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (Chap. 57, v. 56) records the tradition of the eight mothers, i.e., Brāhmī, Vaiṣṇavī, Raudrī, Kaumārī, Aindrī, Yamī, Varuṇī and Kauverī though he also acknowledges that there were certain others too such as Nārasiṅghī, Vārāhī and Vaināyakī. The *Devīmahātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* enumerates at one place the seven Mothers as Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṁhī and Aindrī (*DS*, VIII, vv. 14-21). Elsewhere it gives the number as eight, the one more, i.e., Caṇḍikā or Śivadūtī being added to the former seven (ibid. vv. 32-9). An older vedic tradition of the sixteen Mothers or the Soḍaśamātṛkās is also known. Their names are Gaurī, Padmā, Śacī, Medhā, Sāvitrī, Vijayā, Jayā, Devasenā, Svadhā, Svāhā, Mātara, Lokamātara, Hṛṣṭi, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi and Ātmatuṣṭi. The sculptural evidences regarding the purāṇic tradition of the seven or eight Mothers are available and have been discussed below.

[4] *EI*, IX, p. 191, verse I.

[5] *EI*, XIV, p. 182, verse 4.

[6] ibid., vv. 3 and 4.

[7] *IA*, LVIII, pp. 234 ff.

[8] *IA*, VI, p. 51, verse I.

[9] *EI*, XII, p. 59, vv. 3 and 4. The Inscription is found in a temple dedicated to the goddess Kevāyamātā.

[10] *EI*, XI, p. 303.

The Pratihāra kings, Nāgabhaṭṭa, Bhojadeva I and Mahendrapāla I, were ardent devotees of Bhagavatī (*Paramabhagavatībhaktas*).[1] Mahendrapāla II donated a village to the goddess Vaṭayakṣiṇī in the year v.s. 1003.[2] Alla, the governor to Bhoja I, built a temple of Navadurgā in the year v.s. 933 and gave it an endowment to meet the expenses incurred on the daily worship and upkeep of the edifice.[3] Āśāpurī was the family goddess of the Śākambharī Cauhāns[4], of whom Vigraharāja II built a temple even outside his territory at Bhṛgukaccha, then probably a possession of Barappā.[5] Dāyikā, the queen of Vatsarāja, the uncle of Vigraharāja II, repaired in v.s. 1055 the temple of Śaṅkarā Devī in the Sekhavati region.[6] Cacha, the feudatory of the Cauhān ruler Durlabharāja II, built the Kinśariyā temple of Bhavānī.[7]

The Dadhimatī inscription already referred to records the construction of a shrine in honour of goddess Dadhimatī by the community of the Dadhimatī or Dadhyā Brāhmaṇas of Rajasthan.[8] According to an inscription from Vasantgarh in the Sirohi state a shrine in honour of the goddess of health, Kṣemāryā or Kṣema-

---

[1] Daulatpur Plate of Bhojadeva, I, v.s. 900—*EI*, V, p. 211.

[2] Pratabgarh Inscription of the time of the Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla II, v.s. 1003—*EI*, XIV, p. 182.

[3] The inscription of Vallabhasvāmī at Gwalior of v.s. 933—*EI*, I, p. 159. Regarding the names of the Navadurgās, various traditions have been recorded by the scholars. According to Monier William's list, based on some unnamed lexicon, the Navadurgās were Kumārikā, Trimūrti, Kalyāṇī, Rohiṇī, Kālī, Caṇḍikā, Śāmbhavī, Durgā and Bhadrā. Sri G. N. Rao draws a list based on the Āgamas and gives the names as (1) Nīlakaṇṭhī, Kṣemaṅkarī, Harasiddhi, Rudrāṁśā-Durgā, Vana-Durgā, Agni-Durgā, Gaya-Durgā, Vindhyavāsī-Durgā and Ripumārī-Durgā. Some Purāṇas give the names as Ugracaṇḍā, Pracaṇḍā, Caṇḍogrā, Caṇḍanāyikā, Caṇḍa, Caṇḍavatī, Caṇḍarūpā, Aticaṇḍīkā and Rudracaṇḍā. But a more popular list is in the *Devīkavaca*, a supplement to the *Devīmāhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* and is recited by thousands of the Devī worshippers. According to it the nine names are Śailaputıī, Brahmacāriṇī, Candraghaṇṭa, Kūṣmaṇḍā, Skandamātā, Kātyāyanī, Kālarātrī, Mahāgaurī and Siddhidātrī. The inscription under question recording the construction of the Navadurgā temple mentions only three goddesses by name such as Rudra, Rudrāṇi and Pūrṇāsā.

[4] *ECD*, p. 233.
[5] *ECD*, pp. 30-31.
[6] Sakrai Inscription, v.s. 1055—*PRAS*, WC, 1909-10, p. 57.
[7] *EI*, XII, p. 59.
[8] vide., *supra*, footnote No. 10, on p. 167.

kā was raised in the year v.s. 682.[1] As Śākambharī Devī she was the goddess of vegetarians and her chief temple was at Śākambharī (modern Sāmbhar). The Sakrāi Mātā inscription records the construction of a *maṇḍapa* in honour of the goddess by a certain *goṣṭhikās*.[2] The Ahār inscription, document No. 2 (HE 258), refers to a shrine of goddess Kāñcanadevī and an endowment made to it.[3] To the south of the temple of Kāñcanadevī was the shrine of Nandā-Bhagavatī.[4] The temple of goddess Kaṅkeśvarī and a donation to it are mentioned in the Ahār inscription, document No. XIII (HE 261).[5] The Udaipur inscription of G.E. 407 speaks of a temple of Ghaṭavāsinī established by some Yaśodeva.[6] The shrine of a goddess, probably, Araṇyavāsinī was built in v.s. 703 in the reign of Śīlāditya of Mewar by a *bābā* Jantrika, who was a native of Vāṭanagar, identified with Vasantagaḍh in the Sirohi states.[7] A seventh century temple of goddess Vasundharā is in the Dungarpur state.[8] A 9th or 10th century inscription has been found on the pillars of a ruined structure from Arṇā (about 12 miles from Jodhpur). It records the building of an abode for the goddess Nandā who has her abode on the Himālayas.[9] On a slab from the Mātā-kī-Śāl at Ghaṭiyālā (Mewar) we have an inscription of v.s. 918 with a figure of a goddess seated on a lion.[10] From Maṇḍor

---

[1] Vasantgadh Inscription of Varmalāṭa of v.s. 682—*EI*, IX, p. 191.

[2] Śakrāi Inscription—*PRAS*, WC, 1909-10, p. 56. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar the name of the goddess given in the inscription is Śaṅkarā which appears to be the correct name of the goddess and not Śākambharī by which she is at present known. The goddess was identical with Mahiṣāsuramardinī.

[3] Ahār Inscription—*IA*, XIX, p. 59.

[4] ibid.

[5] ibid.

[6] Udaipur Inscription of G.E. 407—*PRAS*, WC, 1905—6, p. 61.

[7] Samoli Inscription of King Śīlāditya—*PRAS*, WC, 1908-9, p. 48.

[8] G. H. Ojha, *Dungarpur Rajya ka Itihasa*, pp. 18-19.

[9] G. H. Ojha, *Jodhpur Rajya ka Itihasa*, Pt. I, p. 28.

[10] *PRAS*, WC, 1907, p. 34: Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar opines that the figure is of the Jaina goddess Ambikā.

(near Jodhpur) we have the rock-cut images of the Aṣṭamātṛkās.[1]

The evidences recorded above mostly refer to the Devī worship in Rajasthan and its adjoining regions. But the existence of her cult in other parts of Northern India also is proved by architectural and sculptural evidences. Yuan Chwang, in the seventh century, mentioned an idol of Bhīmā Devī about 50 li to the North-east of Palusa (i.e., Gandhar region). It was believed to be a natural image of the goddess which worked miracles and was visited by devotees from all parts of India.[2] The famous temple of Śāradā Devī in Kashmir is mentioned by both Alberuni and Kalhaṇa.[3] The Causaṭayoginī temple at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand is architecturally assigned to the 9th century A.D. and proves the prevalence of *yoginī* cult in Central India.[4] There are also three other temples of Devī ascribed to the 10th century A.D.[5] The temple of Devī Jagadambā assigned to the 10th century is one of the best temples of Khajuraho.[5] In the Mathura museum collection are many varieties of Devī icons of the early medieval and medieval periods, representing Her as Durgā[6], Pārvatī[7], Mahiṣāsuramardinī[8], Mātṛkās[9] and Lakṣmī.[10] The Stuart-Bridge collec-

---

[1] The faces of the figures are mutilated and they bear 2, 4, 2, 4, 2, 4, 2 and 8 hands respectively. But they can be identified on the basis of their attributes and vehicles which are the same as of the gods after whom they are named.

[2] Watters, I, p. 221.

[3] Sachau I, p. 117; *RT*, IV. 325.

[4] Maitra, *Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, p. 199.

[5] These are the temples at Maha, Maniyagarh and Barel villages.—*YTCIC*, Appendix III, p. 479.

[6] *CBIMA*, Nos. D25, 239, 1033 and 1047.

[7] ibid., Nos. D 51, Kt 26, 737, 797, 801, 834, 837, 882, 1038, 1044, 1091, 1100, 1104, 1105, 1108, 1172, 1177, 1258, 1289 and 2103. In one of these idols Pārvatī is shown with her son Kārttikeya, in some with a miniature of *Śivaliṅga* either over her head or in a corner of the image (Nos. D 51, 737, 834, 882, 1044, 1105, 1172, 1258 and 2103) and in some as a *Brahmacāriṇī*, performing austerities to attain Śiva in marriage (Nos. 797, 1044, 1100 and 1104).

[8] *CBIMA*, Nos. 541, 842, 1087, 2137 and D 12.

[9] *CBIMA*, Nos. D 8, 552, 1093 and 1284. In the icon No. 552 the seven mothers are shown as holding a child in the left arm as a sign indicative of their motherhood. These goddesses are (i) *Brahmāṇī* with three heads, holding a ladle in her hand and a

tion of the British Musuem has post-Gupta sculptures of Devī hailing from the Uttara Pradesh and Central India. Most notable of these are the images of a twelve-armed goddess at toilet (9th century)[1], the eight-armed image of Kālī or Cāmuṇḍā[2], the image of the Mother-goddess Vārāhī seated on a buffalo and holding a child in her left hand[3] and a four-armed image of Sarasvatī as Vīṇāvādinī.[4]

Of the east Indian sculptures of Devī one important group is represented by the Gauḍian and Orissa sculptures in the British Museum. In these she is represented in three different aspects, in killing the demon Mahiṣa, as a warrior goddess and as Divine Mother with the details almost similar to those discussed above

---

swan for her vehicle; (ii) Māheśvarī standing with a *Triśūla* against her vehicle bull; (iii) Kaumārī, holding a Śakti and standing with a peacock as her mount; (iv) Vaiṣṇavī with a mace for her weapon and a *Garuḍa* as her vehicle; (v) Vārāhī with a broken *daṇḍa* in hand and a Mahiṣa as vehicle; (vi) Indrāṇī with her weapon (now broken) probably a thunder-bolt and an elephant as her vehicle; and (vii) Cāmuṇḍā with a garland of skulls, emaciated body, sunken belly and a *preta-vāhana*.

[10] *CBIMA*, Nos. 1119 and 223. In these sculptures Lakṣmī is sculptured with Gaṇeśa and Kuvera and the two elephants are surmounting lotuses and performing Lakṣmī's *abhiṣeka* with upturned jars.

[1] R. P. Chanda, p. 39. The goddess seated in the *ardha-padmāsana* posture is looking at her reflection in the mirror held in one of her left hands. With the middle finger of the uppermost right hand she is putting a mark on her forehead. The two right hands are broken off. Her fourth and fifth right hands are respectively holding a conchshell and a ring. In her frontal right hand the goddess is holding a lotus flower between her breasts. Of her left hands the uppermost is damaged and the third, the fourth and the fifth are lost. Of the remaining two, one holds a shield and the other is resting on the left thigh and holds a damaged round object.

[2] R. P. Chanda, p. 40. The goddess is eight-armed. Her right frontal fore-arm is lost and in other right hands she holds a sword ready to strike and a dagger. In her left hands Cāmuṇḍā holds a severed head, a *paraśu*, a cobra and a cup.

[3] R. P. Chanda, p. 41.

[4] In her right upper hand she holds a garland of heads and in her left upper hand a manuscript. With her two lower hands she is playing on Vīṇā.

in the case of the corresponding idols.[1] There are certain other notable aspects of Devī icons from Bengal. The Tipperā bronze image of Sarvāṇṇī is of special interest because it represents her as counterpart of Śiva also known as Sarvva.[2] The Niyamatpur image of the goddess is in the *āsanamudrā*, i.e., seated in the *padmāsana* posture, four-handed each holding *vara*, a sword, a shield and a trident, and is approximately assigned to the ninth century (A.D. 853).[3] Another *āsanamūrti* of goddess tentatively identified as Mahālakṣmī is twenty-armed.[4]

Of the Devī icons of the Baijnath Temple in Almora, a district of Kumaon Division, some belong to the 8th-9th centuries A.D. In these She is represented in the forms of Pārvatī, Mahiṣāsuramardinī and Hara-Gaurī. As Mahiṣāsuramardinī her figure is most important showing the demon Mahiṣa in the three different stages, i.e., with a sword and a shield coming out of the buffalo's body, with a spear pierced in his body by Devī with one of his right hands and being completely overpowered by Devī who is also pulling his hair.[5] From Western India we have two important sculptures of Pārvatī representing her as a *Śabara-kanyā*. One of these was found from the ruins of Somanāth temple and is approximately assigned to the 10th century A.D. The goddess bears a head-dress of leaves

---

[1] R. P. Chanda, pp. 60, 67, 68. As a warrior goddess she is three-eyed and four-armed. To her right is a two-armed Gaṇeśa and to the left a male deity, probably Kārttikeya, holding the thunderbolt in his hand. The group of Divine Mothers consists of the Saptamātṛkās, viz., Brahmāṇī, Kumārī, Indrāṇī, Vaiṣṇavī, Māheśvarī, Vārāhī, and Nārasiṁhī, with the goddess Cāmuṇḍā carved on the besalt slab. The Mothers have the same attributes and vehicles as the gods after whom they are so called.

[2] N. B. Bhattasali, *Buddhist and Brahmanical Images in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 203 ff.

[3] *HB*, p. 452.

[4] The goddess is seated in the *lalitāsana* pose on a double-petalled lotus placed on the back of a lion and bears such attributes and poses as fruit, protection, discus, sword, pestle, arrow, etc. in the right hands and conch, shell, water-vessel, bow, trident, mirror, etc., in the left ones. The miniature *liṅga* on its head among the *jaṭās*, as we find in many Mathura sculptures, is its another speciality.—ibid.

[5] "Sculptures in the Main Temple at Baijnath", *IHC*, 1950, pp. 101-2.

in a fashion typical to the forest-women. The third eye in the forehead, an indicative of Śiva's consort, is a bit in evidence. The other figure believed as belonging to the post-Gupta period was found from Idar State (North-East Gujarat). The figure stands in a *tri-bhaṅga* pose. The right hand rests on a lip and the left has a *kaṅkaṇa* at the wrist. The hair rests loose on the shoulders and the whole figure is well-draped and bedecked with ornaments.[1]

OTHER BRAHMANICAL DIVINITIES

As already stated, our age is characterised by a multiplicity of gods and goddesses, many of whom are of a minor cadre but yet important enough to the numerous people who worshipped them. Varāhamihira prescribed rules for the figures of Baladeva or Balarāma, Sāmba, Pradyumna, Brahmā, Skanda, Indra, Revanta, Yama, Kuvera and Varuṇa.[2] The sculptural remains of Hanumān, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Nāgas and Navagrahas have also been found in different parts of Northern India. A few details about all these are given below.

BRAHMA—Brahmā, a member of the Hindu Trinity, is believed to preside on the *rajo-guṇa* which represents the mobile characteristic of *prakṛti*.[3] As such he was naturally regarded as the creator of the different *yugas* like Satya, Dvāpara, etc. Being thus the father, even of the earliest beings, he was known also as Pitāmaha.[4] According to the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* his sculpture should have four faces, a water-pot in hand, and be seated on a lotus leaf.[5] The *Harṣacarita* gives a good description of Brahmā and he is portrayed there as seated on a full-blown lotus coming out of Viṣṇu's navel and surrounded by Indra and other gods. Prajāpatis headed by Manu worship him. Each one of his four faces served as an abode of a Veda. The great sages along with the Saptarṣis chant the Vedas and hold intellectual discourses in his august presence. The great goddess Sarasvatī fans him with a fly-fan, and four Vedas incarnate, seated on their cane-seats and holding cauries of *kuśa-*

---

[1] "Two Sculptures (of Pārvatī as Śabara-Kanyā) from Western India", *Bharatiya Vidya*, Vol. XV, No. I, 1954.
[2] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Chap. 58.
[3] *Kādambarī*, v. i
[4] *HC*, I, pp. 8, 12.
[5] *BS*, Chap. 58, v. 41.

fibres in their hands grace his court. His conveyance is a chariot of swan.[1]

Most of these details of Brahmā are found also carved in the medieval sculptures. A four-armed standing image of Brahmā in the British Museum, has sacrificial spoon or *śruvā* in his upper right hand, a garland of beads in the lower right hand, a manuscript of the Veda in the upper left and a *kamaṇḍalu* or drinking pot in the lower left hand. Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī stand in the background to his right and left respectively. Only three faces of the god are seen, the fourth face on the back being invisible.[2] Of his images in the Mathura Museum the one, No. D 22, is of especial interest. Here he is seated on a lotus flower with Sarasvatī and places his feet on two small lotuses springing from a common stalk. Brahmā's three faces are visible. The two right hands hold a staff and a water-pot and two left hands are slung round the neck and waist of Sarasvatī. In one of the left hands is also a copy of the Veda. Sarasvatī has two hands, in one of which she has a mirror. The other hand is put round the neck of Brahmā. Two male devotees adoring the deity are shown standing in the two lower corners and a Gandharva carrying a garland and accompanied by Apasarās is carved in each of the upper corners.[3] In one of his images from Mathura the three visible faces are bearded.[4] Another has a beard only on the central face.[5]

Rajasthan had many temples of Brahmā in the period under review. His temple at Vasantgaḍh (*c.* 7th cen. A.D.) is still extant. The life-sized image there has three faces and two hands, each holding a rosary and a water-pot.[6] His temples at Khed and Bithu are also very old. Another Brahmā temple is at Puṣkara, a place associated with his sacrificial rite, in the Purāṇas.[7]

---

[1] *HC*, I, pp. 7-8, 11, 18.
[2] R. P. Chanda, p. 44.
[3] *CBIMA*, p. 2.
[4] *CBIMA*, No. 1098.
[5] *CBIMA*, No. 285.
[6] *ASIR*, 1906-7, p. 173.
[7] Sachau, II, 147; See also *Supra*, Chapter on "Pilgrimage."

His other images discovered from Rajasthan belong to Osia, Sevadi and Kiradu (all in Jodhpur), Basad (Pratabgadh), Sirod (Kotah) and Bijolia (Mewar).[1] The *Kānhaḍadeprabandha* describes a temple of Brahmā at Jalor which too may have been very old.[2]

KARTTIKEYA—The six-faced god Kārttikeya, also called Skanda, Kumāra, Mahāsena, Guha, etc., was the God of War[3] and his great achievement, the rendering asunder the Krauñca hill, has been referred to by Bāṇa who mentions also the construction of a temple in his honour.[4] The *Nīlamata Purāṇa* refers to a special worship consisting of garlands, sandal, ornaments, food, *kukkuṭa*, etc. to be offered to him on the 6th day of the lunar *Caitra* with a view to ensure the good health of the children.[5] In a sculpture, according to Varāhamihira, he was to look like a boy (*kumāra*), to hold a *śakti* (javelin) in his hand and to have a peacock for his ensign.[6] In many reliefs from Eastern India ranging from the 8th to the 11th centuries he is generally carved in a standing pose, is two-armed and has his mount by his side.[7]

BALARAMA—Balarāma or Haladhara, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, is described by Bāṇa as putting on dark blue robes, dragging Yamunā with his ploughshare and intoxicated with strong drink.[8] Similar details are found in Varāhamihira's iconographic description according to which he was to be depicted with a plough in his hand, was to have eyes rolling owing to intoxication and was to wear an ear-ring. His complexion was to be as white as conch, the Moon and the lotus-stalk.[9] In his statues in the Mathura Museum, three or which belong to the medieval period, he is represented as wearing ornaments, having a drinking cup in one hand, and a plough or a *mūsala* in the other and a snake canopy over his head.[10]

KAMA OR PRADYUMNA—Kāma or Pradyumna was the god of love or

---

[1] Ratna Chand Agrawala, "Rājāsthān ke Prācīna Mandir tathā Mūrtian," *Marubhārati*, Vol. II, No. 3.

[2] आसापुरी आदि योगिनो देव चतुर्मुख गणपति अनी ।
कान्ह स्वामी गिरूआ प्रासाद, शिषर तडोवडि लाग वाद ॥ IV. 21. X

[3] *ARM*, 19-20.

[4] *Kād.*, pp. 233, 437.

[5] *NMP*, 647-9.

[6] *BS*, Chap. 58, v. 41.

[7] *DHI*, p. 366.

[8] *Kād.*, pp. 21, 68.

[9] *BS*, Chap. 58, v. 36.

[10] *CBIMA*, Nos. 1515, 1116 and R 46.

cupid. *Halāyudha* mentions his thirty names.[1] In literature he is generally described as a fish-bannered god, using a bow of flowers and five favourite arrows. According to the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Kāma is to be represented as endowed with a handsome body holding a bow in his hand. His wife holding a shield and a sword was to be placed by his side.[2] On the Kāmotsava day he was generally worshipped in a garden, where people assembled and enjoyed themselves.[3] In the play *Mālatīmādhava* Bhavabhūti speaks of a shrine of Kāmadeva.[4]

INDRA—Indra who appears as the 'Lord of Devas' in vedic literature was now regarded as one of the eight guardians of directions, i.e., the Aṣṭadikpālas, in charge of the eastern quarter.[5] In his iconographic depiction Indra has a four-tusked white elephant as his mount, the thunderbolt as his weapon in his hand and a third eye placed horizontally in his forehead.[6] A medieval figure of a male deity from Mathura has been identified with Indra but rather doubtfully.[7] Indra's stone-relief from Paharpur is more definitely identifiable.[8]

AGNI—Agni, another Dikpāla, was the guardian of the south-eastern direction. In the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, he is described as "bearded, four-armed, four-tusked, three-eyed, riding a chariot with smoke-standard drawn by four parrots and driven by wind, having his consort Svāhā on his left-lap, holding flames, trident and rosary in his hands."[9] Most of these features are missing in sculptural remains of the period. One of his figures from Mathura shows him with a halo of flames and standing between two attendants, one of whom on the right has a goat's head. The god himself is bearded and holds a bag in his left hand.[10] In the Pahār-

---

[1] *ARM*, 34.
[2] Chap. 58, v. 40.
[3] See *infra*, Section on 'Festivals'.
[4] Act II, p. 26.
[5] *ARM*, 100-101.
[6] *BS*, Chap. 58, v. 42.
[7] *CBIMA*, No. D 5.
[8] K. N. Dikshit, *Paharpur*, p. 46. This standing image of Indra, facing east, bears a third eye, as described in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, placed horizontally on the forehead.
[9] *DHI*, p. 524.
[10] *CBIMA*, No. D 24.

pur sculptures of the Dikpālas he is figured as a two-armed deity standing with a rosary and a water-vessel in his hands. The flames are represented as rising on both of his sides.[1]

YAMA—Yama was the guardian of the southern direction. Mythologically he was the god of death as well as anger.[2] His fearful fortress is spoken of as filled with countless buffalos and a buffalo with horns curved sideways served him as his mount.[3] According to the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* he is to be represented as mounted on a buffalo with a club in his hand.[4] A representative of him is available in the Pahārpur sculptures.[5]

VARUNA—Varuṇa in the Purāṇas is the guardian of the western direction. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* describes him as riding on a swan and holding a noose in his hand.[6] According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*[7], which gives more details regarding him, he is to ride on a chariot drawn by seven swans. Gaṅgā and Yamunā on their mounts are to be figured to his right and left, respectively. The deity himself is to be depicted as four-armed, the right hands bearing a lotus and a noose and the left ones a conch-shell and a jewelled box, respectively.[8]

KUVERA—Kuvera was the 'god of wealth' as well as the king of Yakṣas and the guardian of the northern directions. Halāyudha, the lexicographer, who calls him by seventeen names in all, knew him as Dhanada, Dhanādhyakṣa, Rājarāja, Dhanī, Guhyaka and

---

[1] K. N. Dikshit, *Paharpur*, p. 48.
[2] *Kād.*, p. 9; *ARM*, 72.
[3] *Kād.*, pp. 38, 212, 233.
[4] Chap. 58, v. 57.
[5] The two-armed Yama in the sculpture stands erect holding a long noose. Two attendants one male and the other female standing on either side are regarded as corresponding to Citragupta or Dhūmrorṇā, associated with Yama in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*.—*DHI*, p. 525.
[6] See note 4 above. [7] *DHI*, p. 522.
[8] Of his sculptures discovered so far none can be assigned definitely to the period under review. In most of these he is generally shown as mounted on a crocodile instead of on a swan as prescribed by the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. His sculpture from the Rājarāṇi temple of Bhuvaneśvara depicts him in a standing posture and he is holding a looped noose at its ends in his left hand and the right one is in the *varadamudrā*. The whole sculpture is beautifully ornamented.—*DHI*, p. 527.

Uttarāśāpati.[1] Of his other names mentioned by him, the two, i.e., Puṇyajaneśvara and Naravāhana, are found even in the Pippalada version of the *Atharvaveda* and the *Mahabhārata* respectively.[2] And that he retained some of these mythological characteristics during the period we are dealing with can be seen in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, wherein it is stated that Kuvera is to be represented as mounted on a human being (*naravāhana*), with a pot-belly (an indication of his being the god of wealth) and a crown placed on the left side of the head.[3]

His early medieval sculptures in the Mathura art show him as seated on a mountain probably Kailāsa[4], holding a drinking cup in his right hand and attended by attendants on both sides.[5] His figures as Dikpāla, found carved in many medieval Hindu temples, however, represent him as pot-bellied, holding either a bag (obviously of treasure) or squeezing the neck of a mongoose vomiting jewels, and seated on a lotus on the *ardhaparyaṅka* posture, the dangling leg resting upon either two or eight jars.[6] The Sakrai inscription of v.s. 699 invokes him along with Gaṇeśa and Caṇḍikā. On the pedestal of a shrine of Pippalada Mātā in Osia (Rajasthan) he is placed on the right of the goddess Caṇḍikā and Gaṇeśa is on her left.[7]

HANUMAN—We have instances of the worship of Hanumān in the 9th-10th centuries and about a century after the period of the survey he was held in such veneration in the Chandella kingdom that Chandella coins from the time of Sallakṣaṇa (*c.* A.D. 1100) onwards bear his figure.[8] Of his sculptures now available, two from

---

[1] *ARM*, 78-79.
[2] *DHI*, p. 337.
[3] *BS*, Chap. 58, v. 57.
[4] In mythology Kuvera's city is Alakā in the Himalayas but some authorities place his abode on mount Kailāsa in a palace built by Vaiśvakarma.—John Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, p. 174.
[5] *CBIMA*, Nos. 138, 254, 1118 and 1594. Dowson, without naming any authority, says that Kuvera is represented as a white man deformed in body and having three legs and only eight teeth. —op. cit., p. 174.
[6] The two jars, indicate the two *nidhis* (treasures), *śaṅkha* and *padma*, and the eight jars the eight *nidhis*, i.e., *padma*, *mahāpadma*, *makara*, *kacchapa*, *mukunda*, *nīla*, *nanda* and *śaṅkha*.—*DHI*, p. 340.
[7] Sakrai Inscription of v.s. 879.—*PRAS*, WC, 1909-10, p. 56.
[8] *Early Rulers of Khajurāho*, p. 183.

Mathura, are assigned to the ninth century A.D. In one of these figures, Hanumān has placed his left foot on a prostrate female, believed to be Cāmuṇḍā by Dr. V.S. Agrawala.[1] His right hand is raised above the head as if he were lifting a mountain and the left is held at the breast. His second statue from Mathura is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[2] His image from Khajuraho found in a temple there is of the Harṣa year 316 or A.D. 922.[3]

REVANTA—Revanta is mythologically Sūrya's son and has therefore naturally some of Sūrya's characteristics. According to the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, he is to be sculptured as riding on horseback and engaged with his companions in the sport of hunting.[4] His account in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* represents him as protecting people from the terror of forests and other lonely places; conflagrations, enemies and robbers, etc. and as bestowing happiness and prosperity on his worshippers.[5] A relief in the Lakṣmaṇajī temple of Khajuraho has his image.[6]

GANGA AND YAMUNA—Gaṅgā, the famous river goddess of India, is invoked by Vākpati in his Prākṛt poem *Gauḍavāho*.[7] She is sometimes regarded as Umā's co-wife, and the idea is expressed both in literature[8] as well as sculptures.[9] The figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā are found frequently shown on the walls of the medieval temples. The temple of Vajramaṭh or Vajranāth at Gyaraspur in Rājasthan depicts the two river goddesses.[10] The Devī Jagadambā temple, Khajuraho, has a figure of Gaṅgā standing on her vehicle[11], the Kandāriyā Mahādeva temple at Khajuraho has the icons of both

---

[1] *CBIMA*, No. D 27. But it would perhaps be better to regard it as a female demon as mythology does not associate Hanumān with Cāmuṇḍā.

[2] ibid.

[3] ibid. and *Early Rulers of Khajurāho*, p. 193.

[4] *BS*, Chap. 58, v. 56.

[5] Chap. 105, vv. 22-23.

[6] *Early Rulers of Khajurāho*, p. 202.

[7] vv. 58-61.

[8] *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act I, v. 1.

[9] *DHI*, p. 475.

[10] Gyaraspur Inscription, v.s. 1039—*PRAS*, WC, 1913-14, p. 61.

[11] *Early Rulers of Khajurāho*, p. 191.

Gaṅgā and Yamunā, mounted on their respective vehicles, *makara* and *kūrma*.[1]

NAVAGRAHAS—The Navagrahas or the nine planets are the Sun, the Moon, the Mars, the Mercury, the Jupiter, the Venus, the Saturn and the two Nodes (Rāhu and Ketu). Their worship has been in vogue in every part of India from very early days of Indian history. But, during the period, advance in the field of astrology and the growth of people's belief in things supernatural would have further popularised their worship. They could be propitiated through the performance of *grahayajñas* as well as the worship of their idols.[2] If worshipped in the latter form, the idols, according to the *Agni Purāṇa* should be respectively made of copper, sandal, red sandal wood, gold, silver, crystal, iron and lead, or of gold.[3]

We have stone reliefs of the group representation of the Navagrahas on the walls of the many medieval Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva temples. Almost every Vaiṣṇava temple of Osia bears their group figures.[4] Sometimes the *prabhā* (halo) of the Viṣṇu image also had the figures of the group of the nine planets.[5] Their separate figures have been found at Sarnath[6] and Paharpur.[7]

NAGAS—The term *nāga* literally means a snake. But mythically he is a semi-divine being. The Nāga-worship has been current in India from a very primitive period. Kadru is the name of the mother of the Nāgas.[8] Their king Śeṣa or Ananta is represented as having five, seven or even a thousand hoods and serving as the conch and canopy of God Viṣṇu reposing on the surface of the *kṣīrasāgara*.[9] Sometimes Balarāma is regarded an incarnation of

---

[1] ibid., p. 213.
[2] *AP*, Chap. 164, vv. 1-2.
[3] ibid., vv. 3-4.
[4] *ASIR*, 1907-8, pp. 113 ff.
[5] *CBIMA*, No. D. 54. The Grahas which are preserved are Śukra, Śamścara, Rāhu and Ketu.
[6] It is a sandstone relief, now in the Indian Museum, containing the figures of Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani and Rāhu.—*DHI*, p. 444.
[7] It has the figures of two planets only, i.e., Candra and Bṛhaspati.—S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculptures of Bengal*, pp. 65 ff.
[8] *Kādambarī*, p. 104.
[9] ibid., pp. 168, 485; *CBIMA*, No. 1235; "Sculptures in the Main Temple at Baijnath"—*IHC*, 1950, p. 104.

Śeṣa and is represented as carrying a snake-canopy above his head.[1] We have many sculptures of Nāgas and their consorts Nāginīs having human face and coil behind their bodies.[2] Nāga-cult was much in vogue in Kashmir and adjoining hills. Both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa refer to an annual Nāga festival celebrated on the 12th day of the dark-half of the month of Jyeṣṭha.[3]

TANTRISM

In the Amarkoṣa the word *tantra* is used in a variety of senses such as a chief, a right conclusion, a weaver's batten or a raiment.[4] But later on it became restricted to the mystic literature called Tantra.[5] We use the word Tantra in this last sense in this chapter.

Tantras cover a variety of subjects. Generally they deal with five principal topics of the creation and destruction of the universe, the worship of deities, the attainment of certain super-human powers and the union with the Supreme Being.[6] For the attainment of the last two objects certain *sādhanas* or psycho-somatic or yogic exercises were regarded as essential. *Kriyā* or rituals and *caryā* or conduct have both their place in the *Tantraśāstra*. But *yoga* is regarded as infinitely superior to them.[7]

Our earliest references to Tāntrik practices are to be found in the *Guhyasamāja*, the *Sādhanamālā* and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. By the end of the period Tāntrika elements are to be found practically in all religions. And though the earliest systematic exposition is to be found in the *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya* (middle of the 11th cen. A.D.) the authorship of which is generally ascribed to Matsyendra-nātha[8], it is obvious from the use of the words like *gurupaṅkti*,

---

[1] See above p. 175.

[2] In the present Bajra Nath temple at Gyaraspur in Rajasthan are Nāga figures with their bodies interlaced.—*PRAS*, WC, 1913-14, p. 61.

[3] *Samayamātṛkā*, II. 88; *RT*, I. 222.

[4] तन्त्रं प्रधाने सिद्धान्ते सूत्रवाये परिच्छदे ॥—*AK*, नानार्थ वर्गः 182.

[5] We have based our account of Tantra, mainly on early Tāntrika texts like the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, etc. Hence it lacks the elaborate details found in later works. We cannot be sure about the period when these practices entered the Hindu fold.

[6] *ERE*, Vol. XII, p. 193.

[7] *GST*, Introduction, pp. XII, XV, XXII.

[8] *KJN*, Introduction, p. 666.

siddhapaṅkti, *pūrvasiddha*, *pāramparīya-kramāgata*, *kulavijāna*, etc.[1], and the description of the different schools of Kaulas, (a Tāntrika sect) the Romakūpādikaula, Vṛṣnotthakaula, Bahnikaula, Kaula-sadbhāva, and of many varieties of yogic practices, e.g., *mūla kula-pañcāśikā*, *kulasāgara*, *kulogha*, *hṛdaya*, *bhairavodyānaka*, *candrakaula*, *veṣṭi*, *jñānanirṇaya*, *sambara*, *sṛṣṭikaula*, *timira*, *siddhāmṛta*, *mātakaula*, *śaktibhedakaula*, *ūrmikaula*, *jñānakaula*, *siddheśvara*, *vajrasambhava*, and *meghaja*[2], that Tāntrism has a long previous history. But the Tantra system was till A.D. 1000 simpler than its later forms.

The technical word *kula* used in the Śākta Tantras has a two-fold significance, philosophic as well as yogic. On the philosophic side *kula*, according to Bhāskarācārya, means the assemblage of three similar things *mātṛ*, *māna* and *meya*, i.e., the perceiver, perception and the perceived.[3] The *mātā* is the *jīva*, *māna* is *pramāṇa* or *jñāna* and *meya* is this world of *ghaṭa* and *paṭa*, etc.[4] Ultimately there is *abheda* or non-duality. It is the one and the same consciousness that takes these three forms.[5] In *Kaulajñāna* the mind and the sight become united; the sense organs lose their individuality, and Śakti becomes identical with *jīva* and the sight merges into the objective to be visualised.[6] On the yogic side *kula* is *ādhāracakra*. Connected with it is the *suṣumnā* (an artery) through which psychic energy travels to the *sahasrāracakra*. From there trickles the ambrosia called the *kulāmṛta* which enabled one to conquer death even.[7]

In some way both these conceptions are related to each other. The *sādhaka* could, through his *dhyāna* (meditation), bring into existence the things that he thought of, because the two are ultimately one. Various *siddhis* could be attained by variations in the process of meditation, but one thing especially insisted on is the

---

[1] *KJN*, IX. 1, v. 35, XIV, 79.
[2] *KJN*, XXI, vv. 3-7.
[3] Śrī Bhāskarācārya in the commentary on the *Lalitasahasra-nāma* defines Kula as सजातीयानां मातृमानमेयानां समूहः कुलम्। Bhāskarācārya as quoted in the Introduction to the *KJN*, p. 37.
[4] माता जीवः मानं प्रमाणं ज्ञानमिति यावत्,मेयं घटपटादिरूपं विश्वमिति यावत्।—*Tārārahasya-vārttika* as quoted in the *KJN*, Introduction, p. 38. कुः पृथ्वीतत्त्वं लीयते यत्र तत्र कुल आधारचक्रं, तत् सम्बन्धाल्लक्षणया सुषम्णा मार्गोऽपि। अतः सहस्रारात् सुवदमृतं कुलामृतम्।
[5] Bhāskarācārya, op. cit., p. 37. [6] *KJN*, III. 2-3.
[7] Bhāskarācārya, op. cit., p. 38. This conception was also known to the author of the *KJN*. See *KJN*, V. 18; VI. 18-19.

cultivation of *advaitabhāvanā* or the sense of non-duality, on the spiritual as well as temporal plane.[1]

The Kaula system as presented in the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* is far from repulsive, if we understand its essentials. There is nothing unethical about it. It is against external worship. The supreme creator should, according to it, be worshipped by means of the eight mental offerings the *ahiṁsā*, *indriyanigraha*, *dayā*, *bhāva* (idealism), *kṣamā*, *krodha-vinarjita*, *dhyāna* and *jñāna*.[2] As regards external practices, the practice of non-duality in practice perhaps needed the use of a few things which were regarded as bad by others. A *sādhaka* with *advaitabhāvanā* could not logically make any difference between *bhakṣya* (eatable) and *abhakṣya* (forbidden food). We read even of the consumption of *gomāṁsa* (beef), *rakta* (blood), *śukra* (semen) and *majjā* (marrow), the use of which is tabooed by most Indian religions.[3]

The Tāntrik system can be regarded as theistic as well as monistic, theistic if the emphasis be on the worship of Śiva and Śakti and monistic if we keep in view the *advaitabhāvanā* that underlies it. Paramaśiva is the ultimate entity into which merge *kriyā*, *icchā* and *jñāna*, the three aspects of Śakti.[4] *Icchā* is the will of self-manifestation, *jñāna* the consciousness of the manifestation; and *kriyā* the aspect which gives rise to activity.[5] When all these aspects operate separately there is dualistic knowledge, but when they become one in Paramaśiva we have *mukti*.[6] Śakti's downward movement leads to creation and the material world. When it ascends upward, when *jīva* realises his identity with Śiva, getting

---

[1] *KJN*, XI. 25.

[2] *KJN*, III. 24-26.

[3] *KJN*, XI. 11-12. It is however, doubtful whether these words have been used in their literal sense. The Tāntrikas have a language, their own, called *sandhābhāṣā*. For instance the words *lalanā* (a wanton woman), *rasanā* (the tongue) and *avadhūtī* (a female ascetic) really signify the three principal arteries *īḍā*, *piṅgalā* and *suṣumnā*. Many other examples of Sandhābhāṣā can be seen in the *Hevajra Tantra* quoted by Dr. P. C. Bagchi in his article "Sandhabhaṣa and Sandha-vacana" in his book, *Studies in Tantras*, pp. 27 ff. In the *Nāgar-sarvasva of Padmāsrī* also the actual meaning of some of the mystic terms have been explained.

[4] *KJN*, II. 6-7.

[5] *KJN*, Introduction, p. 41.

[6] ibid.

free from limitations, there is *mukti* or realization.[1] The soul which is not free from the snares of the world is called *paśu* (beast).[2]

On the theistic side the Tantra system lays down that there is no Śiva without Śakti and no Śakti without Śiva. Their relation to each other is like that of a tree and its shade, and fire and the smoke.[3] But no Tāntrik rests content with duality. Tāntrik practices are mostly connected with *yogic* processes which make Śakti merge into Śiva. Śakti is generally called Kālāgni. Creation continues as long as this Kālāgni remains seated in the lower regions. Dissolution starts when it burns upwards.[4] He who realises finally Śiva within himself becomes Śiva-like and attains liberation.[5]

For its practically inclined followers, Tantra prescribes various Tāntrik practices through which one attains *siddhis*. These lead to the attainment of heavenly pleasures in the world and can be used for the good of humanity. As to *mokṣa* it comes perhaps in its normal course. Therefore Tantra *Śāstra* has been described as a system which secures for the *sādhaka mukti* as well as *bhukti*, enjoyment in the world as well as final liberation.[6]

Important technical terms commonly used in earlier Tantras are *bindu*, *nāda* and *kalā*. According to the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* these terms seem interconnnected. Both *nāda* and *bindu* are called Śakti. The latter is the energy (*teja*) of the Mahāliṅga which causes creation and preservation, is the ambrosia which removed old age and death and is possessed with Kāmakalā. This ambrosia possessed with Kāmakalā is the ultimate state of *sahaja*, pure like a *maṇi* (jewel).[7] *Bindu* in the *Kāmakalāvilāsa* is regarded as the creative impulse of Paraśiva inseparably united with his Śakti the Kāmakalā. It is first reflected on the wall of *citta* when the rays of the Sun, called Paraśiva, get reflected from the mirror called *vimarśa*.[8] The commentator of the *Kāmakalāvilāsa* explains this cryptic statement by

---

[1] *KJN*, II. 9.
[2] ibid., III. 7.
[3] ibid., XVII. 8-9.
[4] ibid., II. 2-3.
[5] ibid., XVII. 67.
[6] ibid., XVII. 42.
[7] ibid, IV. 8; XX. 20; VI. 23; VII. 31-32; XIV. 95.
[8] *Kāmakalā*, quoted in the introduction to *KJN*, p. 45.

saying that when Parameśvara, who is of the form of *prakāśa* (light), comes into contact with a mirror as it were in the form of meditation about his own nature, there rises the *abhāsa* (reflection), "I am perfect."[1] This self-conscious element, called also the *mahābindu* or *bindu* has in itself the seeds of *mātā*, *māna* and *meya*.[2] These in terms of energy, which as early as the times of Śaṅkara had been identified with *śaktimat*, were later on termed Kāmakalā or Tripurasundarī.[3] From *bindu* arises also the *nāda* which forms the starting point of the world.[4]

That this technical phraseology, again, was no creation of the 9th and 10th century, that it is only after then that we get out available expositions of its theory, can be seen from the *Mālatī-mādhava* of Bhavabhūti, which gives thus a Kāpālika's *stuti* (prayer) of Śiva :[5]

(1) "Glorious is the lord of energies, who is surrounded by the Śaktis, whose self is situated in the midst of the circle of the sixteen veins, who when his form is realised in the mind confers miraculous powers on those who know how to do it, and who is sought after by those desirous of eternal felicity with unwavering minds."

(2) "Commentally beholding by the power of abstraction the Supreme Spirit in the form of Śiva, eternal, placed in the circles of the six parts of the body mystically touched (with the recitation of several mantras) and manifested in the heart lotus, without experiencing any fatigue from my flight on account of my drawing off the five elements from the body by the gradual filling up of the veins with wind (so as to create a propelling force within) and dividing the clouds in the sky before me."

The basic facts to be discovered from these descriptions are that :—

1. the Kāpālikas of the eight century were well acquainted with Tantrik anatomy and believed in the attainment of *mokṣa* by the practice of *yoga*;

---

[1] ibid.

[2] ibid.

[3] काम इति काम्यते अभिलष्यते स्वात्मत्वेन परमार्थमहद्भिर्योगिभिरिति कामः, तत्र हेतु : कमनीयतया इति, कमनीयत्वम् स्पृहनीयत्वम् तेन कला विमर्शशक्तिः महात्रिपुरसुन्दरी बिन्दुसमषिरूपा कामकला इति उच्यते।—ibid.

[4] ibid.

[5] Act V, vv. i, 2.

2. that the Kāpālikas thought the realisation of Śiva gave not only *mokṣa* but also miraculous power; and

3. that Śiva was regarded as accompanied by Śakti.

Similarly we find the descriptions of the Kaulas in the *Karpūramañjarī* and *Caṇḍakauśika*, both of them of the tenth century and the *Prabodhacandrodaya*, a work of the 12th century. In the first of these Bhairavānanda, a Kaula teacher, is represented as a devotee of Mahābhairava and is credited with supernatural powers. By dint of meditation he could bring to his presence any person, however far he may be, and could make flowers bloom out of season. He claimed even the powers to bring down the moon to the earth, to stop Sun's car in the sky, and to fetch the wives of Yakṣas, gods and Siddhas.[1] Apparently strange was also the religion that he professed. He thought that he could attain *mokṣa*, even though he neither knew any Mantra nor Tantra, simply by drinking and enjoying with other's wives. To him widows, *caṇḍās* and initiated ladies were like his legal wives. He lived on alms, rested on skins and guzzled delicious meat and strong drinks.[2] But in spite of all this, he is represented as having the fullest respect from the king and the queen, the latter of whom received *dīkṣā* (initiation) from Bhairavānanda and accepted him as her spiritual *guru*.[3]

We can supplement in some measure the information from the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* and say that in the performance of Tāntrik *sādhanas* or the attainment of the mystic powers the accessary means were *mantras*[4], i.e., prayers or formulae, *bījamantras*[5], i.e., *mantras* in the form of mystic syllables and *mudrās*[6] or particular postures of hands and fingers.

As already stated, Tantra is a practical *śāstra*. The institution of a *guru* is therefore essential first to initiate the *sādhaka* in its mystic doctrine to disclose its intricacies and then to instruct him in different *yogic* practices.[7] Of these practices there could naturally be

---

[1] *Karpūramañjarī*, I. 25.
[2] ibid, Act I, vv. 22-23.
[3] ibid., Act IV.
[4] *KJN*, IV. 5; VIII. 24.
[5] ibid., IV. 16; X. 6-8
[6] ibid., IV. 12; VIII. 37.
[7] ibid., IV. 17; V. 33.

many; and it is this difference which probably accounts for the many schools mentioned in the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*. Matsyendranātha[1] was the founder of one of these schools, the Yoginī-Kaul, the teachings of which were followed in every house of Yoginīs in Kāmarūpa.[2]

From these very sources, we see that the following were the more important features of the Tantrik schools :—

Siddhis—Various superhuman powers could be held by means of *mantras* and cultivating various powers of *nāda* and *bindu*. Error could be dissipated through the practice of *dhyāna* or meditation.[3] Through *dhyāna* one could have everything, for instance, *guṭikā*, *akāśagamana*, *rasāyana* and *antardhāna*.[4] In the *Harṣacarita* Bhairvācārya is shown as engaged in the *vetālasādhana* which was a part of the bigger *siddhi* known as *asuravivarapraveśa*, to accomplish which one had to enter a hole leading underground.[5] Its *sādhakas* were called Vātikas.[6] The Dhārmikadraviḍa in the *Kādambarī* is bent upon the attainment of various *siddhis* such as *nidhivāda*, i.e., finding of a hidden treasure; *dhātuvāda*, i.e., the transformation of copper into gold; *asuravivarapraveśo*, i.e., entry into the nether world; *yakṣakanyākāmitva*, i.e., marriage with a Yakṣa's daughter; *antardhāna*, i.e., getting invisible through the efficacy of *mantras* and *sādhanas* and so on.[7] In the *Mālatīmādhava* Kapālakuṇḍalā is represented as competent to fly in the sky, i.e. *ākāśagamana*.[8] The *Caṇḍakauśika* shows Kāpālikas specialising in the attainment of the *siddhis* like *vetāla*, *vajra*, *guṭikā*, *añjana*, *pādalepa*, *daityāṅganā*, *vidhi*, *rasāyana* and *dhātuvāda*.[9]

---

[1] The colophon of the *KJN* says, "ज्ञाननिर्णीतयोगिनीकौल—म्महच्छीमच्छघ्नपादावतारिते।"

[2] *KJN*, XXII. 10.

[3] *KJN*, V. 2.

[4] *KJN*, V. 4. In the *KJN* we have references to a large number of mystic powers for which one is particularly referred to its chapters IV, V, VII and XIV.

[5] कृष्णकम्बलप्रावरणनिभेनासुरविवरप्रवेशाशङ्क्या पातालान्धकारावासमिवाभ्यस्यन्तम्---*HC*, III, p. 103.

[6] असुरविवरमिति वातिकैः—ibid., p. 97.

[7] *Kād.*, p. 399.

[8] Act V, v. 3.

[9] Act IV, v. 31.

Cakras—*Cakras* are the various stations of arteries in the body. They helped one in having *siddhis*. According to the *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya* the *cakras* are eight with their special qualities and gifts. The control of the first *cakra* led to the association with the Yoginīs, of the second to the power of attraction, of the third to the power of entry in others' bodies and of other *cakras* similarly to various other supernatural powers.[1] The *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* also gives the *bījamantras* relating to these *cakras*. The initial letters of these *mantras* are, *kṣa*, *la*, *ha*, *sa*, *ṣa*, *śa*, *va* and *hla*. They are situated respectively in the *brahmarandhra* (an aperture in the crown of the head), forehead, between the eyebrows, mouth, throat, heart, navel and Mūlādhāra.[2]

As the attainment of internal Śakti is more important than the external one, one has to realise it as residing within himself with the help of the *cakras*.[3] In the later Tantras six *cakras* regarded as important are Mūlādhāra (lumber), Śivādhiṣṭhān (sacral), maṇipura (coxalgial), Anhad (dorsal), Viśuddhi (cervical) and Añjā. (cerebral). The rising of the Kuṇḍalinī Śakti sleeping in the lowest station Mūlādhāra is identical with the development of Śakti within. By the yogic practice of inhaling the breath for the purpose of rousing the Śakti which reached the highest *cakra* passing through all others one could be in union with the divinity itself.[4]

Nāḍīs—Human body consists of a large number of arteries the chief of which are to be controlled to attain proficiency in different yogic practices. According to one interpretation of the above quoted verse of the *Mālatīmādhava* the principal *nāḍīs* are ten, according to another they are sixteen.[5] The ten principal *nāḍīs* are Iḍā, Piṅglā, Suṣumṇā, Sarasvatī, Gāndhārī, Hastijihvā, Pūṣā, Alambūṣā, Kuhu and Śaṅkhinī.[6] In the other case we have six more *nāḍīs*, namely, Tālujihvā, Jihvā, Vijayā, Kāmadā, Amṛtā and Bahulā.[7]

Pañcāmṛta—In the play *Mālatīmādhava*, Kapālakuṇḍalā, a Tāntrik *sādhikā*, is said to have drawn off the *pañcāmṛta* from her body, gradually filled up her arteries with wind and then flown off into

---

[1] *KJN*, vv. 32-36, 40-43.
[2] *KJN*, X, vv. 6-8. [3] *KJN*, XIV. 1.
[4] Arthur Avolon, *Śakti and Śaktas*, pp. 637 ff.
[5] See supra, footnote no. 5 on p. 185
[6] Jagaddhara's Commentary on *MM*, Act V, v. i.
[7] ibid.

the sky.[1] According to the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* the five sacred things (*pañcāmṛta*) are *viṣṭhā* (faeces), *dhārāmṛta* (perhaps urine), *śukra* (semen), *rakta* (blood) and *majja* (marrow)[2], but the commentator Jagaddhara commenting upon a verse of the *Mālatīmādhava* suggests the following meanings of the term *pañcāmṛta*:

1. the five elements of nature, i.e., *pṛthvī* or earth, *jala* or water, *agni* or fire, *vāyu* or air and *ākāśa* or ether[3], and
2. the five primary fluids in the human body[4], i. e., *viṣṭā* (faeces), *mūtra* (urine), *masṛ* (probably blood), *śukra* (semen) and *majjā* (marrow).[5]

---

[1] *Supra*, footnote no. 5 on p. 185.
[2] *KJN*, XI. 10.
[3] Jagaddhara's Commentary on *MM*, Act V, v. 2.
[4] ibid., p. 119.
[5] This account mainly deals with the Hindu Tāntrism. The Buddhist Tāntric development is discussed separately. But the essential Tāntrik elements are common to both.

CHAPTER SIX

RELIGION

BUDDHISM

Hinayana and Mahayana

There is no lack of sources, Indian as well as foreign, for a detailed account of Buddhism in the period of the survey. It had in the early centuries of the Christian era become branched out into the two main schools—the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna, the one (i.e., the Hīnayāna) regarding the Buddha as a great teacher and insisting on the importance of self-exertion as a means of salvation[1], and the other conceiving of the Buddha as the Cosmic Unity in its three aspects, Dharmakāya, Sambhogakāya and Nirmāṇakāya and believing in the existence of the Boddhisattva, the perfect being who even after attaining full knowledge and freedom from passion did not, out of universal compassion (*mahākaruṇā*), enter *nirvāṇa*.[2] He strove to free the whole world, passing on to it the fruit of all his meritorious actions. People, even with little merit, could find refuge in him. Praying for his compassion, instead of the unaided exertion of Hīnayānists, thus became an essential part of Mahāyānism.[3]

I-tsing noted the existence of two schools of Mahāyāna, the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra.[4] But his detailed account is mainly confined to the Hīnayāna of which he notes eighteen sub-schools, grouped under four *nikāyas* or schools, viz., the Āryamahāsaṅghika-nikāya sub-divided into seven schools, the Āryasthaviranikāya sub-divided into three, the Āryamūlasarvāstivādanikāya sub-divided into four and the Āryasammatiyanikāya sub-divided into four.[5] When Yuan Chwang visited India the Sammatiyas appear to have been very popular, because he noted their presence in Ahichatra, Saṅkās-

---

[1] *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Its Relation to Hīnayāna*, p. 98.

[2] ibid., pp. 34-35; Takakusu, p. 15.

[3] *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, III. 6; X. 56; *Tattva Saṅgraha*, p. 872; *KM*, p. 38.

[4] Takakusu, p. 15.

[5] ibid., pp. 6-8.

ya, Hayamukhas, Viśoka, Śrāvastī, Kapilvastu, Vārāṇasī, Vaiśālī, Karṇasuvarṇa, Mo-la-po (Mālvā), Sindh, A-tien-po-chin-lo, Pi-to-shib-lo and Afantu (Avanta).[1] About 30 years later, I-tsing found that the school was popular only in Lāṭa and Sindhu, practised in Magadha and had a few adherents in South India.[2] The Āryamūlasarvāstivāda, on the other hand, had a very large number of adherents in Central and Northern India, with some in Lāṭa and Sindhu, and very few in the South.[3] The Mahāsaṅghikas were found mainly in Magadha (Central India).[4] The Sthaviras were in a majority in South India.[5] I-tsing's statement that 'which of the four schools should be grouped with the Mahāyāna or with the Hīnayāna is not determined[6]', probably means, as pointed out by Takakusu, that "some of the eighteen schools, after coming in contact with the Mahāyāna adopted its customs, or at all events studied its system along with their own."[7] The differences were many but so were their similarities in essentials.[8] All, as pointed out by I-tsing, had in common "the prohibition of the five *skandhas* (group of offences) and also the practice of the Four Noble Truths."[9]

Of the schools noted above the Āryasthaviravāda or Therāvāda was the oldest and the most orthodox. It regarded Gautama Buddha as a historical personage endowed with divine powers. Being born in the Śākya family he was called Śākyamuni. To a Sarvāstivādin the world is full of misery. It is impermanent and transient. There is even no permanent self. The 'Middle Path' of 'Eight-fold Nobles' was, in their opinion, the sole way of attaining salvation or *nirvāṇa*, i.e., the state of Arhathood in which a man ceases to be reborn. An aspirant to *nirvāṇa* had to uplift himself through the observance of *śīla* (good conduct), *samādhi* (meditation) and finally *prajñā* (insight).[10]

---

[1] Watters, I, pp. 331, 333, 359, 373, 377; II, 1, 47, 63, 191, 242, 247, 252, 256, 258 and 259.
[2] Takakusu, General Introduction, p. xxiv.
[3] ibid.
[4] ibid., p. xxiii.
[5] ibid.
[6] ibid., p. 14.
[7] ibid., General Introduction, p. xxii.
[8] Watters, I, p. 162.
[9] Takakusu, p. 14.
[10] 2500 *Years of Buddhism*, ed. by Dr. Bapat, p. 101.

The Sarvāstivādins may be regarded as Realists among Buddhists. According to Śaṅkarācārya they held that all things external as well as internal could be proved by means of perception and inference. The external things were inclusive of elements like earth, water and so on, of the elementals like colour, etc. and the various sense organs. The internal things consisted of the five *skandhas* of *rūpa* (sensation), *vijñāna* (knowledge), *vedanā* (feeling), *sañjñā* (verbal knowledge) and *saṁskāra* (impression), which taken together constituted the basis of all personal existence.[1] The aggregate of all these things constituted the four different kinds of atoms, the atoms of earth being hard, of water visual, of fire hot and of air mobile.[2] But like the Sthaviras they also denied the existence of soul or some controlling force which could effect the aggregation of atoms, and were opposed to the doctrine of permanent *Brahman* holding that whatever exists is momentary.[3] This school regarded the commentaries or *vibhāṣā* more authoritative than even the *sūtras* themselves and were therefore popularly known as Vaibhāṣikas.[4]

The Sammatiyas differed from the Therāvāda in their view about the theory of *pudgala* which they regarded as the permanent substance of an individual. They held that the rebirth was possible only with the existence of *pudgala* which subsisted between the death and rebirth of an individual.[5]

The Āryamahāsaṅghikanikāya differed from the Therāvādins in the conception of the Buddha. With them the Buddha was a supermundane (*lokottara*) being, Gautama Buddha or Śākyamuni was simply an incarnation of the *lokottara* Buddha.[6] They aimed at the attainment of Boddhisattvahood, as opposed to the Arhathood of the Therāvādins, before reaching *nirvāṇa*.[7]

Of Mahāyāna schools, the Mādhyamikas believed in following the middle path, i.e., a path which advocated neither the theory of absolute existence nor non-existence. According to it the world

---

[1] *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya*, II. 2, 18.
[2] ibid.
[3] ibid.
[4] Takakusu, General Introduction, p. xx.
[5] 2500 *Years of Buddhism*, op. cit., p. 107.
[6] ibid., p. 114.
[7] ibid., p. 103.

is a conditional existence.[1] The Mādhyamika has *śūnyatā* or the relative being of the world as the central idea of his philosophy.[2]

The Yogācāra school emphasised the practice of meditation or *yoga* as the means of attaining the Highest Truth. The school was known also as Vijñānavāda because it maintained that while external objects were unreal, our cognition had to be regarded as real.[3] The great scholars Dharmapāla (7th cen.), Dharmakīrti (7th cen.), Śāntirakṣita (8th cen.) and Kamalaśīla (8th cen.) were some of the great teachers of this school.

With all these variations, Buddhism was in many ways a living faith in the seventh century, enlisting thousands of votaries. When Yuan Chwang visited India, Kannauj had 100 monasteries with more than 1,000 brethren who were students of both the systems.[4] In about a hundred monasteries of Ayodhyā resided above 3,000 monks, belonging to both vehicles.[5] In Puṇḍravardhana were twenty *saṅghārāmas* having 3,000 brethren of both vehicles.[6] In Samataṭa, the Buddhist monasteries were thirty in all, with 3,000 Sthaviras.[7] The numerical strength of the monasteries and monks falling within Karṇasuvarṇa was 10 and 2000 respectively.[8] Jalandhara, Mathura, Sāketa and Ujjainī were the other important centres of both the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists.[9] In all, as noted by Rhys Davids, the number of Buddhist monks in India and the adjacent countries of North-West was nearly 200,000, about three-fourths of whom studied the "Little Vehicle."[10]

---

[1] ibid., p. 120.

[2] ibid., p. 121.

[3] According to I-tsing the Mādhyamika school "professes that what is commonly called existence is in reality non-existence, and every object is but an empty show, like an illusion," whereas the Yogācāra School affirms that "there exist no outer things in reality, but only inward thoughts, and all things exist only in the mind (lit. all things are but mind)".—Takakusu, p. 15.

[4] Watters, I, p. 340.

[5] ibid., p. 354.

[6] ibid., II, p. 184.

[7] ibid., p. 187.

[8] ibid., p. 191.

[9] ibid., I, pp. 296, 301, 355; II, 250.

[10] "Eighteen Schools of Buddhism," *JRAS*, 1892.

But other facts noted by the travellers of the seventh century show that Buddhism, after reaching its zenith, was declining in spite of the powerful support now and then of rulers like Harṣa.[1] In many places the monasteries were completely ruined and desolate. In Gāndhāra, there were about 100 monasteries but all were "utterly dilapidated and untenanted. Many of the topes were also in ruin." The sacred bowl of the Buddha, which was once treated with great reverence in Gāndhāra, had passed on to several other countries.[2] In Udayāna the condition was pitiable. "There had formerly been 1,400 monasteries but many of these were now in ruins and once there had been 18,000 Brethren but these had gradually decreased until only a few remained."[3] In Takṣilā, "although the monasteries were numerous many of them were desolate."[4] In the vicinity of the capital of Kashmir, all the five monasteries of Pan-Nu-Tso (identified with modern Punch or Punats in Kashmir) were in a ruinous state.[5] Only one Buddhist monastery with 30 Hīnayāna monks was in Kapilvastu. The ruins of a thousand monasteries there spoke of the past glory of Buddhism in the native place of its founder.[6] In the heart of the country the condition of Buddhism in Kosāmbī, Śrāvastī and Vaiśālī was no better. At Kosāmbī there were the ten *saṅghārāmas*, but all in utter ruin.[7] At Śrāvastī there were only a few Sammatiya brethren and, out of the hundred monasteries situated there, most were in ruins.[8] Similar was the condition in Vaiśālī, where, of some hundred Buddhist establishments, all were dilapidated and deserted with the exception of three or four.[9]

LATER DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHISM

We can have some idea also of Buddhism after the days of Yuan Chwang and I-tsing from the various sources at our disposal. Inscriptions as well as literary sources show that Buddhism receded

---

[1] On Harṣa's religion, see Appendix No. VI.
[2] Watters, I, p. 202.
[3] ibid., p. 226.
[4] ibid., p. 240.
[5] ibid., p. 283.
[6] ibid., II, p. 1.
[7] ibid., I, p. 366.
[8] ibid., p. 377.
[9] ibid., II, p. 63.

eastwards before the steady advance of Hinduism, leaving here and there a few islands. The Pratihāras were Brāhmaṇical Hindus, reserving their reverence for Śiva, Viṣṇu and Bhagavatī. In the west, the Maitrakas were mostly Śaivas. In Kashmir the kings of the Kārkoṭā and Utpala dynasties worshipped Hindu deities.[1] In Bihar and Bengal alone Buddhism flourished to the end of the period under the patronage of the Pālas[2], and the character of this Buddhism in Bengal even is not the same as that of Buddhism in the 7th century A.D. It is neither the Hīnayāna form believing in self-reliance nor the Mahāyāna form emphasising the attainment of Pāramitās. It is what is popularly known as Tāntric Buddhism, and goes by various names, viz., Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna and Sahajayāna.

This development took some time. But when Mahāyāna passed on from the Pāramitānaya to the Mantrayāna it had, as it were, opened its doors wide for the entry of Tāntric elements.[3] According to the Tibetan tradition, Asaṅga, the founder of the Yogācāra school of Buddhist philosophy was the first teacher to

---

[1] The Buddhist influence in these regions, i.e., Valabhī, Kashmir and Madhyadeśa, had not completely died out after Harṣa. Buddhists still maintained there a precarious hold on the minds of the people. About the Maitrakas of Valabhī we have already said something (see Chapter V, p. 125). Among the rulers of Kashmir, Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (*RT*, IV, p. 200, 203), his minister Chankuna (ibid., 211, 213, 259-62) and Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya (ibid., 507), etc. gave liberal patronage to Buddhism as a part of their catholic policy. From Madhyadeśa we have a Buddhist Sanskrit inscription of Koṭā recording the building of a Buddhist temple and monastery by a feudal chief Devadatta in whose 7th regnal year the document is dated.—*IA*, XIV, p. 45 and *ZDMG*, XXXVIII, p. 547.

[2] Of the Pāla Kings Gopāla I is believed to have founded the Odantapuri monastery in modern Bihar Sharif. His son and successor Dharampāla was the founder of the famous Vikramaśīla monastery. In the court of Devapāla lived the Buddhist poet Vajradatta, the author of the Lokeśvarasataka. For Pāla's patronage to other Buddhist scholars and philosophers, see our account of Buddhist philosophy in Chap. IV above.

[3] महायानं च द्विविधं, पारमितानयो मन्त्रनयश्चेति। तत्र च पारमितानय : सौत्रान्तिक-योगाचार-मध्यमकस्थित्या व्याख्यायते। मन्त्रनयस्तु योगाचार-मध्यमकस्थित्या व्याख्यानयते।—*Tattvaratnāvali* in *AVS*, p. 14. See also infra, p. 198, no. 4.

introduce Tāntric elements in Buddhism.[1] According to another tradition, the first Tāntric teacher was Nāgārjuna, a predecessor of Asaṅga.[2] Still others hold that the Buddha himself introduced Tāntric elements in his doctrine to make it more intelligible and adaptable to the common mind.[3] There may be some truth in all these positions. Asaṅga preached a philosophy the essentials of which were adopted by the Vajrayānists.[4] Nāgārjuna (who is probably different from the Mādhyamika philosopher) may have been the first teacher to popularise some of its practices.[5] As to the third alternative, if not the Buddha, most probably some one of his followers made Buddhism more easily acceptable to the public by the introduction of some popular ideas. But none of them can be regarded as founder of Buddhist Tāntrism, for the elements of Tantra existed independently of Buddhism, and merely combined with it under certain circumstances.[6]

In the 7th and 8th centuries Buddhism was steadily losing popular support. It pleased neither the laity, nor the monks and nuns. Only a change in its character could save it.[7] It was to be made more broad-based than orthodox Hinduism, and it had to be more popular. It was to be a revolt against the snobbishness of the priests as well as the high-caste Hindus. But as no movement could succeed, unless it were associated with some great teacher, its professors either fathered it on the Buddha, if they were Buddhists, or on Śiva, in case they were Śaivites. Sometimes the Tantra teachers were regarded as the incarnations of these two.

A list of 84 historical teachers of Tāntric Buddhism, known generally as Siddhas, has been published by Pt. Rahula Sankrityayana.[8]

---

[1] Asaṅga in his turn is believed to have been initiated into the mystic cult by Maitreya in the Tusita heaven.—*ITB*, p. 62. See also *ORC*, p. 7, and Dr. P. C. Bagchi's *Studies in Tantras*, p. 87.

[2] *ORC*, p. 17; *ITB*, p. 62.

[3] *Buddhist Esoterism*, p. 18, op. cit.

[4] Scholars have tried to trace the references to the sexo-yogic practices of the Tāntric Buddhists in the *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṁkāra* of Asaṅga.—*ORC*, p. 17 f.

[5] *ITB*, pp. 18-23.

[6] The subject has been treated in detail by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya in his *Buddhist Esoterism* and by Dr. Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta in his book *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*.

[7] See infra, p. 198, No. 4.

[8] In Tibet the tradition of eighty-four Siddhas is very popular. The number 84 became current among all other Tāntric cults of

It is based on the Tibetan sources of A.D. 1091 to 1279.[1] Another list was published by Dr. Gunther. He drew his information from the *Tanjur*, a catalogue of Tibetan Tāntric manuscripts.[2] The list though mentioning the number of Siddhas as eighty-four gives actually the names of thirty-eight in all.[3] A third list is given in the *Varṇaratnākara* of Jyotīṣvara Ṭhakkur of Mithilā, written sometime between A.D. 1300 and 1321. It belongs to the Nātha Sampradāya and refers like others to the eighty-four Siddhas but actually names only seventy-six.[4] A fourth list, this too Śaivite in character, has been published by Dr. H.P. Dvivedi on the basis of the *Varṇaratnākara* and a few Tāntric texts.[5] In all these we find certain common names.[6] This probably indicates the existence of a *sādhanā* (yogic practice) that was common to both and could be adopted by the Śaivites as well as Buddhists irrespective of their philosophical differences. In their quest for self-realization it was *sādhanā* that mattered. Philosophy was something secondary. There is no essential difference between Hindu and Buddhist Tāntrism. They both assert that truth lies within the human body and can be realised through it. Both the schools hold that ultimate truth has within itself in seed-form the two aspects of *nirvṛtti* and *pravṛtti*. The ultimate objects of all Tāntric schools is to realise this truth.[7]

In Buddhist Tāntrism, the philosophic ideas used to buttress this position are Mahāyānic. It uses, for instance, the concept of

---

India synchronous with Buddhism. Indian poets of a much later date like Kabīr, Jāyasī and Nānaka also referred to the eighty-four Siddhas.

[1] The list published in the *Purātattva Nibandhāvali* (pp. 148 ff.) and the *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Nos. 62-3, V.S. 2014 (pp. 174 ff.) is given in Appendix VIII.

[2] The list in English has been published by Dr. B. N. Dutta in his book *Mystic Tales of Lāmā Tārānāth*, Appendix I, and in Hindi in the *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, op. cit. Here it is reproduced in Appendix VIII.

[3] But the serial number of each Siddha is in full consonance with their serial number in the first list.

[4] *Varṇaratnākara*, p. 57 and Appendix VIII.

[5] Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi's *Nātha Sampradāya*, pp. 33 and 37. This list gives 148 names in all.

[6] Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi has sorted out thirty-three common names, ibid., p. 27. For these see Appendix VIII.

[7] *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, op. cit, p. 3.

Bodhicitta, i.e., determination to attain enlightenment and liberate others.[1] Perfect enlightenment is attained after the adept has passed through the ten stages.[2] 'But in Tāntrism, the first stage is in the plexus of the naval, and the Bodhicitta attained perfection in the form of *mahāsukha* when it reaches the *sahasrār-cakra*.[3]

Actually, the *sādhanās* perhaps came from the lower strata in the society, where it had been practised for centuries and gradually perfected even though it is only late in the period of our survey that we hear of them. That this was actually so can be seen from some early Tāntric texts. The *Guhyasamāja*, for instance, remarks that the people were dissatisfied with the previous form of Buddhism or even Mahāyāna, with its philosophy of Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools. In the previous system emphasis was laid on a strict code of discipline and morality and one had to be reborn several times to obtain salvation. Therefore, the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, on the other hand, propounded a system which was within the easy approach of every one and offered every opportunity for the satisfaction of all human desires, promising its adherents liberation in one single life.[4]

We have dealt elsewhere with Tāntric elements in Hindu sects. Here we deal briefly with the Buddhist aspects, Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna. Kālacakrayāna[5] and Sahajayāna[6], the other

---

[1] बोधिचित्तं परार्थाय सम्यक्सम्बोधितामता।

[2] The subject has been dealt with in detail by Dr. N. Dutt in his *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relations to Buddhism* (Chap. IV).

[3] *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, p. 10.

[4] *GST*, XVII, p. 144.

[5] Kālacakrayāna is sometimes supposed to be an aspect of Vajrayāna in which the worship of terrible gods and goddesses predominates. Dr. H. P. Sastri translated the word as the "Wheel of Destruction," but the earlier texts of the school do not give us any meaning like this. Time or *kāla* according to these is within the body in its process of vital wind. If this vital wind could be controlled one could control the process of time. In its philosophical system the word *kāla* stands for the principle of *Prajñā* and the word *cakra* for the principle of *Upāya*. The word *kālacakra* thus means the union of *Prajña* and *Upāya* (*Prajñopāya*) the principle which had first evolved in the Vajrayāna.—*An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism.*, p. 64 ff.

[6] Notwithstanding the complications of worship as laid down in Vajrayāna, the Siddhas of Sahajayāna admitted in their *Dohā-*

aspects, perhaps either fall a little outside the period of survey or just on the fringe of it and were perhaps socially not very effective in their early stages.

Mantrayāna formed an important stage in the advent of Tāntric elements in Buddhism. Inspired by the idea of *karuṇā* which made the universal emancipation Mahayanic objective[1], Buddhism accepted a good deal that was beyond its pale. *Dhyāna* and *yoga* already existed therein. It was not difficult therefore to accept similar practices from among the masses. It was thus that the worship of numerous gods and goddesses and esoteric elements like *mantra*, *mudrā*, *maṇḍala* etc. found entry into the religion of Buddha. Those who studied them perhaps felt that the masses too had also discovered some profound truths; and those who felt thus can be said to have been converted by the new converts. *Dhyāna* has always been recognised in Buddhism as a means of reaching the truth. With the gradual increase in the belief of the efficacy of the *mantras*, *mantradhyāna* and *japa* came to be regarded as equally efficacious or even superior. Thus alone can we appreciate the significance of the statement from the *Guhyasamāja*, "Do not move lips for chewing your alms, nor need you be attached to those offerings. It is by moving the lips in the recitation of *mantras* that one's body becomes whole and confirmed in the satisfaction of all desires."[2]

Next followed the introduction of sexo-yogic elements and the five *makaras*, viz., the elements of woman, wine, meat, *mudrā* and fish as specific means of their *sādhanā*.[3] *Mantras* remained but only as part of a ritual, of which according to Indrabhūti they formed

---

koṣas and *Caryāpadas* the principle of reaching the ultimate truth by *Sahaja* or natural means which consisted in the *yoga* practices. The system was reckoned as *Sahaja* also because the inmate was termed as Sahaja—*ORC*, p. 39 ff.

[1] The Mahāyānic conception of universal compassion is best explained in Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Chap. III, vv. 4-6, 10-11, 13-15.

[2] *GST*, VII, p. 27.

[3] *ITB*, p. 70. The *pañcamakaras* are not directly mentioned in any Buddhist Tantra but *pañcakāma guṇas* are found mentioned as below :

पन्चकामगुणाकीर्णे वितानविततोज्जवले ।
योगिनीयोगसंयुक्ते घण्टाकणकणस्वने ॥ *PVS*, III. 18,

the lowest rung. "By the mere recitation of *mantras* and indulging in the modalities of *mudrā*, *maṇḍala*, *japa*, etc., one cannot," he says, "attain the High Light of Perfection even in innumerable cycles of years. To attain that light one has necessarily to be initiated in the mysteries of Vajrayāna."[1]

Vajrayāna literally means the thunderbolt vehicle; and it was so termed because the *vajra* or thunderbolt in it was held as the symbol of voidness which like *vajra* is *abhedya* and *acchedya*, i.e., immutable, impenetrable and indestructible.[2] But there is one fundamental difference between the voidness of the Mādhyamikas and of the Vajrayānists. The Mādhyamika *śūnyatā* was a negative notion. By being represented as a thunderbolt, i.e., something indestructible and capable of destroying everything that opposed it, it became supremely objective, and Buddhism took a turn which the Buddha himself could never have expected. Everything was now termed *vajra;* and because everything is *vajra* a Vajrayānist could, though perhaps illogically, maintain that there is no difference between man and woman, wife and sister, *bhakṣya* and *abhakṣya*, and one may enjoy himself thoroughly, provided he makes no difference between *saṁsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.[3]

In Vajrayāna all previous terms and phrases were given the name of *vajra*. The god, the worshipper, the *mantras* were all regarded as *vajra* and the Buddha himself is termed Vajrasattva.[4] As a Being of infinite wisdom and compassion, he blends together in himself the conceptions of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*.[5]

Necessary details of the rituals connected with Vajrayāna are given below. But what needs emphasizing is the social impact of these theories. These probably liberalised Hindu society by putting the woman on a par with man and giving a Śūdra initiate the

---

[1] *JS*, I. 5.

[2] *AVS*, pp. 23, 37.

[3] जनयित्री स्वसारं च स्वपुत्रीं भागिनेयिकाम्।
कामयन् तत्त्वयोगे न लघु सिध्येद्धि साधकः॥ —*PVS*, I. 25.
भक्ष्याभक्ष्यविनिर्मुक्तः पेयापेय विवर्जितः।
गम्यागम्यविनिर्मुक्तो भवेद् योगी समाहितः॥—*JS*, I. 18.
See also *PVS*, IV. 2, 5, 57, 20.

[4] Mostly, the Buddhist Tāntric works open with the words 'नमःश्री वज्रसत्त्वाय" See the *PVS*, *JS*, and the works of the Advayavajra in *AVS*, pp. 14, 32, 40, 50.

[5] *AVS*, pp. 42, 49.

same rites as a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya. Rules regarding food also went by the board in pursuit of that *advaita* which according to Tāntrism is the Supreme Truth. And the result as a whole may not have been bad, if the *advayabhāvana* could have been possible, in spite of all the pitfalls and temptations incidental to this faith. Unfortunately, however, in the hands of an ill-disciplined or only partially disciplined crowd, it was bound to lead to the licentious practices noted with regard to the Tāntrikas in dramas like the *Mattavilāsa*[1], the *Prabodhacandrodaya*[2] and the *Karpūramañjarī*[3], and the Jaina works like the *Kuvalayamālā*.[4]

Buddhist Deities and Rituals

It is with the rise of Mahāyāna, which regards Buddha as a *lokottara* or Supermundane Being, that the worship of deities first began in Buddhism. Both the Gāndhāra and Mathura schools of art produced many sculptures of the Buddha and the important events of his life such as the dream of Māyādevī, the Bodhi Tree, etc.[5] The rise of the Bodhisattva conception led to the creation of some more Buddhist sculptural figures. Fa-hien (A.D. 399-414) mentions the names of two Bodhisattvas, Manjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, and the future Buddha Maitreya.[6] From Yuan Chwang (A.D. 629-645) we learn of many other names, viz., Hārītī, Kṣitigarbha, Padmapāṇi Viṣravaṇa, Śākya-Buddha, Śākya-Bodhisattva and Yama.[7] I-tsing, adds Amitāyus and the Catur-Mahārājikas to these.[8] Śāntideva (A.D. 695-774), the author of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, mentions the two

---

[1] *Mattavilāsa*, p. 7.
[2] Act III, v. 3.
[3] Act I, vv. 22-23.
[4] *KMK*, p. 204, lines 18-21.
[5] The worship of this aspect of Buddhist pantheon continued even during the period under review. The British Museum has many images of Gautama Buddha illustrating events in his legendary history. These legends are the birth of Gautama Buddha, his Enlightenment, his first sermon, his acceptance of a bowl of honey from a monkey at Vaiśālī, the miracle of Śrāvastī, his descent at Saṁkāsya, his subjugation of the wild elephant Nīlgiri, and his Mahāparinirvāṇa. In some images the Buddha is seated in the posture of Enlightenment and the figures carved in miniature around the main figure illustrate his miracles. All these images belong to the Pāla period of Bengal history.—R.P. Chanda, pp. 48-9.
[6] Legge, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, pp. 24, 25 and 46.
[7] Watters I, p. 16.
[8] Takakusu, pp. 162, 202.

new Tathāgatas, Akṣohhaya and Siṁhavikrīḍita, a new Bodhisattva Gaganagañja and certain other deities such as Cuṇḍa, Trisamaya-rāja, Mārīcī, Siṁhanāda, etc.

The first systematic account, however, of this pantheon is to be had from works like the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, the *Sādhanamālā*, the *Niṣpannayogāvali* and the works of some early Vajrayānist teachers. According to these sources Vajrasattva is the highest Buddhist deity. He is the embodiment of *śūnya* and is regarded as the *ādi* or Primordial Buddha.[1] Homage was paid to him in the form of the flames of fire. Prajñāpāramitā is his Śakti or the female counterpart. In his sculptures he is represented single as well as associated with his Śakti. When single he is generally shown as richly dressed and ornamented, seated in the *vajraparyaṅka mudrā*, holding a *vajra* (representing *śūnya*) in his right hand, a bell (representing Prajñā or wisdom) in his left hand and both the hands being placed crosswise on the chest. In the latter form he is shown embraced by Devī Prajñāpāramitā who is smaller in size, beautifully dressed and ornamented, carrying a knife in her right hand and a *kapāla* (skull) in the left. Keeping in view the Vajrayānic philosophy, one may state that knife here symbolizes the cutting of ignorance and *kapāla* the Absolute Oneness, Vajradhara stands for *śūnya* and Prajñāpāramitā for *karuṇā* and the embrace of both indicates the conception of the *Prajñopāyaviniścaya* or the cessation of all duality.[2]

The five Dhyāni Buddhas mythically believed to have originated from Vajradhara are the divinities next in importance to Vajradhara. They are Amitābha, Aṣobhaya, Vairocana, Amoghasiddhi and Ratnasambhava. Each of them has a Śakti and a Bodhisattva of his own and is described as the progenitor of a *kula* or family of deities. Each of them was also assigned a symbol, colour, pose and vehicle of his own; and as an iconographic rule his Śakti, Bodhisattva and emanating deities, all carried the same attributes, as indicative of their parental Dhyāni Buddha. In the *Sādhanamālā*, which is a work later than the *Guhyasamāja*, a sixth Dhyāni Buddha Vajradhara is also introduced.[3]

---

[1] *AVS*, p. 24.
[2] B. Bhattacharya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 43.
[3] For details refer to *IBI*, Chap. I and *ITB*, pp. 84-85.

Next to the Dhyāni Buddhas were the Mānuṣī or Mortal Buddhas the last seven of whom were held as most eminent by the Mahāyanists. Their names are Vipaśyin, Sikhī, Viśvabhu, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kaśyapa and Śākyasiṁha. But the historicity of only the last of these is certain. Their representation, both as seated and standing, has come down to us. Sometimes they are even represented in a group of seven. Each of them also has a Mortal Buddhaśakti and a Mortal Bodhisattva of his own.[1]

Below these Buddhas stood the Bodhisattvas. The Niṣpannayogāvali presents the names of twenty-five Bodhisattvas in all.[2] Of them Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara were specially popular not only in India but also in many other Buddhist countries. In India their sculptures have been mostly discovered in U.P., Magadha, Bengal and Nepal.[3]

In course of time the Bodhisattvas had their emanations in the form of various gods as well as goddesses and, not content with these, the Buddhists deified also all objects like gods and goddesses of directions, eight kinds of head-dress, the dances, musical instruments, important animals, components of door, colour and weapons. Of their philosophic deities we may mention the twelve Pāramitās, twelve Vasita goddesses, twelve Bhūmis, twelve Dharaṇīs and four Pratisaṁvits. A number of Hindu divinities also found a place in their pantheon though in a position subordinate to Buddhist deities.[4]

Of the Buddhist rituals in the seventh century A.D. a good idea can be had from the Valabhī grants to the Buddhist establishments and I-tsing's record of Buddhist practices in India. It appears from the grants that the worship of Buddha's images was

---

[1] For a relation between all these see *IBI*, p. 79.
[2] ibid., p. 82.
[3] ibid., p. 100.
[4] The subject has been fully dealt with in *IBI* and is largely based on the *Sādhanamālā* and the *Niṣpannayogāvali* both assigned to the 12th century A.D. Some of this pantheon would have probably developed by the 10th century A.D. For the sculptural study of the Buddhist gods and goddesses one is also referred to Dr. N. K. Bhattasali's book, *The Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dr. R. D. Banerji's book *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculptures* and Shri R. P. Chanda's book. op. cit.

the most common feature in the Mahāyāna monasteries and generally the purpose of the grants was the upkeep of the monastery as well as to provide the necessary objects of worship, like flowers, incense, scents, and lamps.[1] According to I-tsing both the priests and laymen in India made *caityas* and images with earth or impressed the Buddha's image on silk or paper and worshipped it with offerings wherever they went.[2]

As to the worship of the *caityas* it was held late in the afternoon or at the time of evening twilight. All the residing monks of the monastery came out of its gate, turned thrice round the *stūpa*, offered it incense and flowers, knelt down before it, and sang a few verses describing the virtues of the Buddha. All the priests then assembled at one place where a *sūtra*-reciter (probably the chief priest) read a short *sūtra* called the "Services in three parts".[3] At the end of the recitation the priests assembled spoke the words *subhāṣitam* or *sādhu*. Thus ended the ceremony and the priests retired at pleasure after bowing to the Lion-seat, turn by turn or all together at one and the same time.[4]

In the Nālandā monastery where the number of priests was immense and all of them could not assemble together in one place, separate worship was performed in all the eight halls of the monastery. One preceptor of the monastery went round, from one hall to another, chanting three or five verses in every hall and performing necessary worship with flowers and incense. At twilight he finished his work.[5]

The method of worshipping the images was a bit different. In the forenoon the priest-in-charge struck a bell to announce the approach of the worship hour. All monastics came to bathe the holy image. A jewelled canopy was stretched over the courtyard

---

[1] See *supra* Chap. V, pp.125-6.

[2] Takakusu, p. 150.

[3] The "Services in three parts" is a selection by the venerable Aśvaghoṣa. The first part consisted of ten *ślokas* in praise of the *Triratna*, the second consisted of a selection from holy scriptures and the third, of more than ten *ślokas*, consisted of prayers expressing the wish to bring one's good merit to maturity.—ibid., p. 153.

[4] ibid., pp. 152-4.

[5] ibid., pp. 154-5.

of the monastery and the image was put in a basin of the same material of which the image was[1], and a band of girls played music. The image was annointed with scents of sandal-wood or aloes and perfumed water was poured over it. Then it was wiped with a clean white cloth and flowers and incense was offered.[2] At meal-times all kinds of prepared food, as shown by I-tsing in connection with the Upavasatha day, were probably arranged before the deity.[3] *Pradakṣiṇā*, i.e. turning towards the right hand side, and *ācamana*, i.e., the sipping of water with which an image is washed and dropping it on the head, also formed a part of Buddhist worship.[4] In addition people visited the Buddhist temple in small groups where they knelt before the image, side by side, with their bodies upright, and performed the threefold salutations putting their heads on the ground and touching it with the head.[5]

After the introduction of Tāntric elements Buddhist rituals became far more elaborate. The Tāntric elements of Śakti, *siddhi*, *sādhanā*, *samādhi*, etc. brought into prominence all sorts of mystic rites and ceremonies. The development of the Bodhicitta, the ultimate object of a Vajrayānist *sādhaka*, could now come to him only through the *Prajñabhiṣeka* or the initiation of the disciple with *Prajña* or Śaktí. The ceremony is just mentioned in the *Guhyasamāja*[6]; it is fully described in the *Prajñopāyaviniścaya* of Anaṅgavajra and the *Pañcākaraḥ* of Advayavajra. Its ritualistic details based on these are as below :

An aspirant of truth had first to eschew all his pride, envy, deceit and other evils and take refuge at the feet of the teacher of *Prajñopāya* and request him to reveal the method of realising *Prajñopāya*.[7] The teacher thereupon asked the disciple to find out a young and beautiful damsel as his Yoginī[8] and on his having

---

[1] According to I-tsing an image could be either of gold, silver, copper or stone. A copper image, whether large or small, was brightened by rubbing it with fine ashes or brick powder and pouring pure water over it until it became perfectly clear and beautiful like a mirror. A large image was to be washed in the middle or the end of a month by the whole assembly of priests and a small one every day, if possible, by individual priests.—ibid., p. 150.

[2] ibid., pp. 147-9.

[3] ibid., p. 38.

[4] ibid., pp. 142 and 150.

[5] ibid., p. 155.

[6] Chap. XVIII, pp. 160-61. See also *JS*, I. 32-33.

[7] *PVS*, III. 6, 25.

[8] ibid., III. 6.

done so he consecrated him in the *maṇḍala* (circle) of the Five-fold Manifestation.[1]

In the beginning of the consecration the teacher recited a *mantra* to ensure the protection of site, of the *guru* and the performance. Then he drew an eight-petalled lotus of many colours in a rectangular *maṇḍala*.[2] The Five Dhyāni Buddhas or the Tathāgatas were then invited to take their place in the *maṇḍala*, so that they may be duly worshipped with the recitation of their respective *mantras*. These Buddhas were Akṣobhaya, Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi each one representing the elements (*skandhas*) of consciousness (*vijñāna*), form (*rūpa*), feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saṁjña*), and impulses (*saṁskāra*) respectively.[3] The Akṣobhaya was seated in the centre of the lotus, Vairocana in the east, Ratnasambhava in the South, Amitābha in the West and Amoghasiddhi in the North.[4] Each of these last four Dhyāni Buddhas was further associated with a Śakti or his counterpart. The fifth goddess Nāyikā was placed in the centre with Akṣobhaya and is described as the Lady (*Bhagavatī*), as Suchness (*Tathatā*), as Void (*Śūnya*), as Perfection of wisdom (*Prajñāpāramitā*), as Limit of Reality (*Bhūtakoṭi*) and as Absence of Self (*Nairātmya*) and was believed to possesss the true nature of Vajrasattva and to be the queen of the Vajra realm.[5] With the *maṇḍala* thus complete the pupil meditated on the Buddhas and the Yoginīs with a view to realising the nature of self and then departed with the teacher's permission, thinking of himself as a son of the Buddhas or born in the Buddha family.[6] Once, however, the initiate passed the *kriyā* and *caryā* states these external ceremonies were unnecessary.[7]

JAINISM

By A.D. 600 Jainism also was a fully developed religion and philo-

---

[1] ibid., XIII. 20, 21.
[2] *AVS*, p. 40.
[3] ibid., p. 42.
[4] ibid., pp. 40-41.
[5] ibid., p. 43.
[6] *PVS*, III. 29-30.
[7] The *maṇḍala* thus described seems to have been of two kinds, one being an outward object of symbolic forms to be actually marked on the ground and the other being only an internal object of meditation to be conceived within himself. According to the

sophical system divided into a number of sects of which the most important, the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, exist even today. These major sects themselves were further subdivided into smaller groups called the *gaṇas*, *kulas*, *śākhās* and finally *gacchas*.[1]

Among the ascetics surrounding the famous Buddhist teacher Divākaramitra, Bāṇa mentions the followers of certain Jaina sects—the Arhats, the Śvetapaṭas and the Keśaluñcakas.[2] He speaks also of Kṣapaṇakas and Nagnāṭas.[3] The Śvetapaṭas obviously are the Svetāmbaras. The word *arhat* means the followers of Arhat, a word applied to both the Buddha and a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. But as in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* the God of the Arhats is described as *digvāsaḥ*, Arhats probably signify some Jaina sect the members of which went naked.[4] Sri Nathu Rama Premi identifies the Arhats with the Jaina ascetics of the Yāpanīya *saṅgha* who are known to have remained naked, bore peacock feathers on their heads and stuck to certain rules about food, such as accepting it on hands and not eating to their entire satisfaction.[5] Yuan Chwang describes this type of mendicants, though without specifying their *saṅgha*.[6] Kṣapaṇakas and Nagnāṭas may have been identical with the Keśaluñcakas, though one cannot be sure on this score.[7] In the *Mudrārākṣasa*, the Kṣapaṇaka shows his sole reverence to the Arhat.[8] Daṇḍin mentions not only a Kṣapaṇaka but also a *kṣapaṇaka-vihāra* which is further identified with a Jaina monastery (*jaināyatana*). Virūpākṣa, the Kṣapaṇaka, occupying the monastery bewails his lot. He smarted with the plucking of his hair and was like a newly

---

Prajñopāyaviniścaya, in the stage of Supreme Enlightenment there is neither any thinker, nor any thought, nor any object of thinking. It is a stage where all things become Yoga. Is it not a stage of a Yogī sitting in a deep *samādhi*?

[1] Dr. S. B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, pp. 371-4.

[2] See Chap. V, p. 124 *supra*.

[3] *HC*, II, p. 48; V, p. 153.

[4] *BS*, Chap. 58, v. 45.

[5] *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, pp. 44, 59.

[6] Watters, I, p. 148.

[7] Kṣapaṇaka in the *Prabodhacandrodaya* has been addressed as a Keśaluñcaka by the Kāpālika, Act III, p. 113. See also page 208.

[8] *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act V, v. 2.

trapped elephant, tortured in matters of dwelling, sitting, sleeping and eating.[1]

Yuan Chwang found both Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects at Taxila in the West and at Vipula in the East.[2] The Digambaras living in the Vipula mountain practised austerities turning round with the sun and watching it from its rising to its setting.[3] In Puṇḍravardhana and Samataṭa, Digambaras were in considerable number in the 7th cen. A.D.[4] They flourished also at Vaiśālī.[5] Jainism seems to have been very popular also among the traders of Rajasthan, Northern Gujrat and Mālwā. According to Jaina tradition Haribhadra Sūri (8th cen.) converted large numbers of non-Jainas to Jainism in these areas.

There is some literary evidence of the occasional favour the faith received from the kings of Rajasthan, Northern Gujrat and Mālwā. Bappabhaṭṭi found favour at the court of Nāgabhaṭṭa II. Tradition describes the Jaina *ācārya* Śīlaguṇa Sūri as extremely influential at the court of Vanarāja, the founder of the Cāvaḍā kingdom of Paṭṭan in Gujrat, whose descendants also favoured Jainism. At the court of Caulukyas, Jainas were very influential. Vimala, the builder of the famous Vimalavasahī temple (V.S. 1030) at Abu, was a Jaina. Dhaneśvara Sūri was patronised at the court of Muñja. Dhanapāla, the Jaina author of the *Tilakamañjarī*, was a court-poet of both Muñja and Bhoja of Mālwā and he received from the former the title of Sarasvatī.

An inscription from Khajuraho dated V.S. 1011, records a gift of five gardens to a temple of Jinanātha by Pahilla, who was held in honour by King Dhaṅga.[6] The Jaina temple inscription of Osia, in Jodhpur, refers to Vatsarāja of the Pratihāra dynasty, in whose reign the temple either existed or was built. It further says that its *nāl-maṇḍapa* was rebuilt by a merchant Jindaka at the request of the temple committee in the year A.D. 956.[7] The Bijapur

---

[1] *DKC*, II, pp. 73, 75.
[2] Watters, I, p. 251; II, p. 154.
[3] ibid., II, p. 154.
[4] ibid., pp. 114, 187.
[5] ibid., p. 63.
[6] *EI*, I, p. 135.
[7] *ASIR, WC*, 1907, p. 15.

inscription of Dhavala refers to the building of a temple of Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara, by the Rāṣṭrakuṭa ruler Vidagdharāja in the town of Hastikuṇḍi.[1] Vidagdharāja also weighed himself against gold, two-thirds of which was allotted to the temple and the remainder to the Jaina preceptor Vāsudeva, on whose inducement the temple was renovated in the time of Dhavala, i.e., v.s. 1053 (the third king in succession from Vidagdha), by the *goṣṭhī* of Hastikuṇḍi. The image of Ṛṣabhanātha was installed by Śāntibhadra Sūri, the disciple of Vāsudeva. King Dhavala also gifted a well to the temple in conjunction with his son.[2]

Both the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras worshipped the Tīrthaṅkaras and many other gods and goddesses. The Jaina sculptures belonging to the period from A.D. 600 to 1000 mostly contain the figures of the Tīrthaṅkaras with the attendants, Sarasvatī, Ambikā, Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs and the Dikpālas. The introduction of the twenty-four Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs as attendants of the Tīrthaṅkaras was a new development to Jaina iconography in the eighth century A.D. Later on, the eight planets on two sides of a Tīrthaṅkara also came to be figured. The latter practice was first developed in the eastern school of medieval art. In the western school, the eight planets were generally carved on the pedestal of a Tīrthaṅkara's image. Soon after the period under study (v.s. 1075) we have also the figures of the mothers of the twenty-four Jinas each with a child on her lap. All these sculptures are mostly in bronze or stone.

The chief sites of Jaina sculptures in Northern India during the period under review were at Vasantgaḍh, Osiā, Bhīnmāl, Northern Gujrat and Mārwār in the West; Rājgir, Vaibhāragiri and the Barabhuji and Trisūla caves of Orissa in the East; and Khajurāho, Deogarh and Gwalior in the Central India. On the basis of a study of these Jaina icons of the period A.D. 600-1000, Dr. Umakant Shah has drawn the following conclusion regarding the geographical distribution of both the sects :

"In the period, the Jainas, especially the Digambaras, had strongholds in the whole of Central India, while in the west the Śvetāmbaras were growing stronger. South of Bhṛgukaccha

---

[1] *EI*, X, p. 17 ff.
[2] ibid.

(Broach), the Digambaras had an establishment at Navasari while in the Khandesh, M.P., and the Deccan, the Śvetāmbaras were gradually diminishing in number. In the east, in Bihar and Orissa, Digambara Jainism was still popular whereas in Bengal it was already on the decline."[1]

Jaina Moral Discipline and Ethics

According to Jaina philosophy the highest of man's human endeavour is *kaivalya* or *mokṣa* which can be had by right faith, right knowledge and right action. But as everyone could not at once reach the highest stage, the religion has been divided into two sections, *gṛhadharma*, i.e., religion for the household and *yatidharma*, i.e., religion for the monks.[2] Both are again explained by the analogue of two different roads leading to the same town of *mokṣa*. The difference between the two roads is that the latter though straight is narrow and hard to travel while the other though not straight is easy to travel. The first is free from all dangers, while the other is not.[3]

Under the head *gṛhadharma* we have the five *aṇuvratas*, the three *guṇavratas*, and the four *śikṣāvratas*.[4] The observer of *gṛhadharma* must keep love and hate at an arm's length. He should not be misguided by heretic teachers; and should give up evils like anger, pride, deceit and greed. He is to restrain the five senses and disregard the twenty-two *parisahas*. Only a small quantity of food is to be eaten. All tasty food must be abandoned. *Svādhyāya* (continuous and regular study of scriptures) is compulsory. Thus observing this code of strict morality, one gets on to the direct road and then finally reaches *mokṣa*.[5]

The *dharma* for a *sādhu* or *yati* was a little more difficult to practice. It consisted of *kṣānti* (forgiveness), *mārdava* (humility), *ārjava* (simplicity), *mukti*, *tapa* (austerity), *saṁyama* (restraint), *satya* (truthfulness), *śauca* (purity), *akinctya* (renunciation) and *brahma* (charity).[6]

---

[1] This account of Jaina, sculptures is based on Dr. Umakant P. Shah's *Studies in Jaina Art*.

[2] *SK*, Chap. I, p. 46, Jacobi's edition.

[3] ibid., Chap. V, pp. 391-5.

[4] ibid., Chap. I, p. 46.

[5] ibid., Chap. V, pp. 391-5.

[6] ibid., Chap. I, p. 46.

The basis of both these was *samyaktva* which was difficult to attain on account of the eight types of *karma* defined as *jñānāvarṇīya, darśanāvarṇīya, vedanīya, mohanīya, āyuṣya, nāma, gotra* and *antarāya*.[1] Some of these actions inhibit the attainment of *samyaktva*, because of their destructive nature and the others do so by determining certain physical conditions. *Darśanāvaraṇīya, jñānāvaraṇīya, mohanīya* and *antarāya* are of the first type and inhibit the unfoldment of right knowledge, right vision and right action on account of delusion and its infinite possibilities. *Vedanīya* is a type of *karma* which sends in the sensational feeling of pain and pleasure. The other *karmas, āyuṣya, nāma* and *gotra* determine the physical conditions such as longevity, colour and family respectively.

Contact with *karma* was again due to *mithyatva* (falsehood), *ajñāna* (ignorance), *avirati* (dissatisfaction), *pramāda* (carelessness); *kaṣāya* (passion) and *yoga*[2] (activity of body, mind and speech). Actions could be of two types, good and bad.[3] It is difficult to get over the influence of *karma*. It is only very few people who can untie the knots of action (*karmagranthi*). One who does it reaches *samyaktva*, its result is *matijñāna* and *śrutajñāna*.[4] *Matijñāna* which means the intellectual knowledge is derived from "the peripheral contact of the senses with their object or from mental illumination due to observation and influence." The *śrutajñāna* is derived from "the study of scripture, books and from the interpretation of symbols or sign."[5]

Closely connected with *samyaktva* were a number of vows. Of these Haribhadra gives the first place to *deśavirati* or partial renunciation of taking things belonging to others, telling lies, injuring others, falsehood, adultery and having unlimited amount of money. It was only the *sthūla* type of these which were included in this sub-division.[6] As a result of this vow and also of the vows known as *aṇuvratas* one gave up these translations namely putting others in bondage, slaying, mutilation, putting too much of load, taking away water or food from some

---

[1] ibid.
[2] ibid.
[3] ibid.
[4] ibid., pp. 47-8.
[5] Puran Chanda Nahar and Ghosha, *Epitome of Jainism*, p. 13.
[6] *SK*, Chap. I, p. 49.

one, letting out secrets, forgery, theft, use of false weights and many other social vices. Thus an individual begins to perform only those actions which do not cause bondage.[1] He followed also the other *uttaraguṇas* which resulted in giving up eating uncooked medicines, badly cooked medicines, preparing charcoal, driving cars for fairs, giving houses on rent, repairing houses, trading in ivory, lac, hair, *rasa* and poison, keeping bad women and similar other bad actions.[2] In due course such an individual reached the next stage of the *yatidharma* which consisted of the above stated ten qualities.[3]

Jaina Belief in Tantrism

Tāntric elements in Jainism had not gone to the extent as we find them in Buddhism and Hinduism during the period under review. Mostly it was in the form of Mantravāda, and the deities were worshipped without the use of meat, wine and woman for the attainment of superhuman or magical powers. The sexual elements were also kept down and the deities were not meditated on as embraced by their consorts.[4]

During the period of the survey the references to the Jaina Mantravāda are found in the *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra Sūri and the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla. The former refers to the spell of Ajitabalā and the latter to the *sādhanas* of the Mantrika deities like Aparājitā, Śrī and the Aṣṭavidyās. The spell of Ajitabalā could be one to attain the status of a Vidyādhara-narendra. For a period of six months the *sādhaka* had to observe silence and take a limited diet. After that began the main *sādhanā*, five coloured flowers were brought, the image of the deity was installed, Vasubhūti was made the Dikpāla, the *sādhaka* sat in the *padmāsana* posture, the *mudrāmaṇḍalas* were drawn and then began the recitation of a *mantra* for one hundred thousand times. Then began certain natural disturbances but the *sādhaka* had to remain without any fear. Frightful apparitions followed, in short, almost everything, which would make the *sādhaka* give up the *sādhanā*. But if the *sādhaka* did not get frightened and continued his *japa* the

---

[1] ibid.
[2] ibid., pp. 49 ff.
[3] ibid.
[4] A. S. Altekar, *Mantraśāstra and Jainism*.

goddess Ajitabalā herself appeared before the *sādhaka*. This was the first test for the *sādhaka*. If he did not complete the *japa* on seeing her all his attempts proved in vain. As soon as this was finished the army of the Vidyādharas arrived and by the order of the Ajitabalā the *sādhaka* was to be crowned as their king.[1]

In the *Tilakamañjarī* the king Meghavāhana is said to recite the *mantra* of Aparājitā-vidyā thrice daily with the intention of having a son. He was to observe complete celibacy. The *mantra* was to be recited before the Rājalakṣmī. The king is actually said to have pleased Lakṣmī with his *sādhanā*.[2] His son also became a Vidyādhara by his *sādhanā* of the *mantra* of the Aṣṭavidyās.[3]

In the *Bṛhatkathākośa* also we find similar Tāntric elements.[4] It contains references to the Vidyādharas, Akāśagāminī-vidyās and the Sighragāminī-vidyās[5] and speaks even of the *Vetāla-sādhanās* of the Kāpālikas.[6] The *Kuvalayamālākathā* of Udyotana Sūri at one place goes even so far to say that when a *sādhaka* offered *mahā-māṁsa* it was actually not consumedby Vetāla though he seemed to do so. His action was merely to test the courage of the *sādhaka*.[7] All these references even though they do not prove the use of the Kāpālika *sādhanā* by the Jainas, show that they were familiar with it and might have even connived it, now and then, for none of the heroes in the Jaina *kathās* is made to go to hell merely because of these Tāntric practices.

If the Jaina *ācāryas*, on one hand, did not allow the abominable Tāntric practices to have an access to their religion, they, on the other, did not overlook the good qualities of Tāntrika *yoga* in which they seem to have been influenced by the Sahajayāna Siddhas. In the *Pāhuḍādohā*, a Jaina work in Apabhraṁśa, assigned to the later part of the 10th century A.D. or the beginning of the 11th, the search of the self has been described as the highest spiritual inclination.[8] To meditate upon the nature of self, according to the

---

1 *Samarāiccakahā*, Vth *Bhava*.
2 *TM*, pp. 25 ff.
3 ibid., pp. 326 ff.
4 *BKK*, *Katha* Nos. 4, 10.
5 ibid., *Katha* Nos. 4, 7, 11, 80.
6 ibid., *Katha* Nos. 64, 102.
7 *KMK*, p. 248.
8 *Pāhuḍādohā*, 35.

Pahuḍādohā, one had to control his senses[1] and practise *yoga* which, as may be inferred from its verse 181, consisted of the control of the chief arteries through the inhalement of breathing.[2] It also seems to have evolved a philosophy of *śūnya*[3] and like all their mystic cults believed in a system of *śabda* or *nāda*[4], and emphasised the need of a *guru* to have initiation in the mystic cult. Like the Buddhist *Dohākośas*, the *Pahuḍādohā* also denies the necessity of visiting holy places, consecrating the images and constructing temples[5] and recognises no distinction of body, caste and creed.[6]

SOME MINOR SECTS

Besides the sects and systems discussed above there were many others though of lesser importance. Siddharṣisūri gives a list of many of these and includes in it the Tridaṇḍikas, Gautamas, Carakas, Sāmānikas, Sāmaparas, Vedadharmās, Dhārmikas, Ājīvikas, Śuddhas, Viddyutadantas, Cancuṇas, Mahendras, Cārikas, Dhūmas, Baddhaveṣas, Khuṁkhukas, Ulkās, Kaṇādas, Carmakhaṇḍikas, Ulūkas, Godehas, Yajñatāpasas, Ghoṣapāśupatas, Kandacchedas, Kārmadakas, Pāṇilekhas, Triraśikas, Kriyāvādins, Govratas, Mṛgacāris, Lokāyatas, Śaṅkhadadhmās, Siddhavādins, Kulantapas, Girirohas, Śucayas, Rājapiṇḍakas, Pāṇḍuribhikṣus, Kumāravratikas, Śarīrapivas, Cakravālas, Hastitāpasas, Vilavāsas, Maithunacāris, Ambaras, Asidharas, Māṭharputrakas, Candrodagamikas, Udakamṛttikas, Sthālikas, Maṁkhas, Pakṣāpaksas, Gajadhvajas, Ulūkapakṣas and Kaṇṭakamardakas.[7] Two more sects, one of the Ghaṭacaṭakas and the other of the Kāruṇikas, are mentioned respectively in the *Samrāiccakahā*[8] and the *Kuvalayamālā*.[9] We give below such details as we have been able to gather about some of the sects.

1. *Tridaṇḍikas*. Etymologically, the word *tridaṇḍika* means a carrier of a *tridaṇḍa* or a staff. The term in Sanskrit is generally

---

[1] ibid., 120.
[2] ibid., 181.
[3] ibid., 64.
[4] ibid., 168.
[5] ibid., 16.
[6] ibid., 31, 32.
[7] *UBPK*, Jacobi's edition, pp. 547-8.
[8] न पुनरत्र कश्चिद देहं त्यक्त्वा घटचटक इव परभवं गच्छति।
—*SK*, pp. 201-202.
[9] *KMK*, p. 206, ll. 3, 5.

used for a recluse. According to the *Kuvalayamālākathā* the Tridaṇḍikas held that a *jīva* is all pervading, can be released through the practice of *dhyāna* and *yoga* and can be purified with water. Obviously they were believers in *Advaita* Vedānta.[1]

2. *Gautamas.* Gautamas were probably the followers of Gautama the founder of the Nyāya School of Indian philosophy which believed in the reality of the world perceived through and thought that they could get at the truth by the use of certain categories of thought.

3. *Carakas.* Caraka is one of the chief schools of the *Yajurveda* and so the term may mean the followers of that school. In the Jaina canons is mentioned a sect of the Carakas, the followers of which went about begging and carried a *dhāti* or *ghātī*, i.e., a begging bowl. According to Hemacandra's commentary on the *Anuyogadvāra*, the Carakas went out to beg after meal.[2]

4. *Ājīvikas.* Makkhalī Gośāla, the founder of the Ājīvaka sect was not only a contemporary of Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha but also their rival and so he is despised by both the Jainas and the Buddhists.[3] During the period of the survey the Ājīvikas do not seem to have been so important as they were once in the time of the Mauryas.[4] Their original characteristics were now almost forgotten to the people.[5] In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* they are represented

---

[1] *KMK*, p. 203, line 27.

[2] A. Sen, *Schools and Sects in Jain Literature*, p. 39.

[3] *History and Doctrine of the Ājīvikas*, p. 38. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 399.

[4] The Ājīvikas are known to have been favoured by Aśoka the Great and his grandson Daśaratha with the gifts of cave-dwellings in the hills near Gayā.

[5] The true affiliation of the Ājīvikas even in the early period of their history is not certain. There are arguments to prove that they originally had nothing to do with Gośāla. Ājīvika was the name of a much older sect and Gośāla's father Maṅkhalī also belonged to it. This sect in prehistoric time seems to have been sometimes Śaiva in character, sometimes Brāhmaṇical and sometimes non-Brāhmaṇical. The non-Brāhmaṇical Ājīvikas are believed to have been connected in some way or other with the Jainas and the Brāhmaṇicals with the Maskarī-Parivrājikas described by Pāṇini— *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 398-400.

as craftsmen and artisans who believed in propitiating goblins and *piśācas* by performing sacrifices and offering them meat, broth, honey, clarified butter, wine, incense, etc.[1] Varāhamihira includes them in the list of the seven classes of the Indian ascetics.[2] The Kṣapaṇaka in the *Mudrārākṣasa* and the Nagnāṭ in the *Harṣacarita* are also sometimes regarded as belonging to the Ājīvika sect.[3] Utapala, the commentator to Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka*, describes the Ājīvikas as the devotees of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa.[4] Halāyudha, the lexicographer includes them in the list of many other naked ascetics.[5] With this diverse information it is difficult to define the exact characteristics of the North-Indian Ājīvikas during the medieval period of the study. Nor can one be sure that they had become merged in the Jainas, or the Vaiṣṇavas, or both in the later times.

5. *Viddyutadantas*. The term literally means the people with teeth shining like lightning (*viddyuta*). A sect known as the Dantukkhabiyas is mentioned in the Jaina literature, the followers of which lived on fruits, grinding everything they ate with their teeth.[6]

---

[1] *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Chap. 69, vv. 284-288 quoted in *History and Doctrine of the Ājīvikas*, p. 163.

[2] *Bṛhajjātaka*, Chap. XV, v. 1.

[3] *History and Doctrine of Ājīvikas*, pp. 187-8. The identity of both the characters with the Jaina monks of the Yāpanīya order has also been shown above, see p. 207.

[4] अत्र वृद्धश्रावकग्रहणम् महेश्वराश्रितानां प्रव्रज्यानां उपलक्षणम्, आजीविकग्रहणम् च नारायणाश्रितानाम् ।

[5] *ARM*, II, 189-190.

Dr. A.L. Basham has pointed out one more reference to the Ājīvikas in the following verse of the *Jānakīharaṇa* of Kumāradāsa :

दम्भाजीविकं उत्तुङ्गजटामण्डितमस्तकं, कन्चिन्मस्करिणंसीता ददर्शाश्रममागतम् ।
X. 76. But it is not definite whether the word *dambhājīvika* here means simply a false ascetic or an Ājīvika. Sri Gopala Raghunath Nandargikar, the editor of the poem, commenting on the verse says that "In writing this verse the poet appears to have in his mind's eye Pāṇini's Sūtra अयः दण्डाजिना, etc. and have coined दम्भाजीवकः 'who seeks to gain something by hypocrisy and deceit on the basis of दण्डाजिनिक. One of our MSS. actually reads दण्डाजीनिक instead of दम्भाजीवक"—*Jānakīharṇa*, pp. 337-9 (Notes).

[6] *Schools and Sects in Jain Literature*, p. 40.

6 *Kaṇādas.* Kaṇādas were followers of the sage Kaṇāda, the founder of the Vaiśeṣika School of Indian philosophy. It is also called the Atomic school because of its belief in existence of the world as an aggregate of eternal atoms.[1]

7 *Carmakhaṇḍikas.* It appears from the name that the Carmakhaṇḍikas wore a dress of hide. The sect is also mentioned in the Jaina scriptures.[2]

8. *Saṁyogins.* The word *saṁyoga* means the conjunction between the two substances. *Saṁyoga* of Śiva and Śakti, according to the Saṁyogins, was a means of deliverance.[3]

9. *Yajñatāpasas.* Yajñatāpasas, who are most probably the same as Jañnais mentioned in Jaina literature, believed in the performance of the *yajñas.*[4]

10. *Kandaccbedas.* The word *kandaccheda* means one who pierces a bulbous root. The exact significance of it is not clear. But they may be identical with the Kandāhāras of the Jaina literature. These people may have lived by eating tubers and roots.[5]

11. *Govratas.* The word *govrata* means the "vow of cow," the sense of which is not clear. A sect of Gobbaias, the followers of which followed a cow wherever she went and ate grass is, however, met with in the Jaina books.[6]

12. *Mṛgacāris.* The term signifies the followers of an antelope. They were perhaps the same as the Migaluddhakas (*Mṛgalubdhakas* in Sanskrit) of the Jaina literature, who killed animals.[7]

13. *Lokāyatikas.* Lokāyatikas, also known as Cārvākas, were of an ancient Indian school of philosophy mentioned even by Kauṭilya (4th cen. B.C.) as Brāhaspatyas or the followers of Bṛhaspati. They were popular enough even during the period under survey as they

---

1 *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, p. 81. Siddharṣi Sūri speaks of a sect of the Ulūkas as distinct from the Kaṇādas. But as a matter of fact Ulūkas also represented the believers of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. They were so called because Śiva is believed to have communicated the Vaiśeṣika philosophy to Kaṇāda in the shape of an owl (*Ulūka*).

2 *Schools and Sects in Jain Literature*, p. 41.

3 *YTCIC*, p. 213.

4 *Schools and Sects in Jain Literature*, p. 40.

5 ibid., p. 41.

6 ibid.

7 ibid., p. 40.

are mentioned in the works of many Indian philosophers like Śaṅkarācārya, Bhāskara and Vidyānanda. The last two of these even quote from the *Brāhaspatyasūtras* which would have been current during their days (9th cen. A.D.).[1] Kamalaśīla, the Buddhist commentator of the *Tattva-saṁgraha*, gives a few Lokāyata aphorisms.[2] Bāṇa mentions them in the *Harṣacarita*[3] and Rājaśekhara in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*.[4] Among Jaina scholars Udyotana-Sūri[5], Haribhadra Sūri[6] and Siddharṣi Sūri[7] refer to them.

Of all these references the account of Haribhadra Sūri is one of the best. According to it the Cārvakas did not believe in *jīva* as different from the five elements which would in due course pass on to another world. Death only meant the resolution of body into these five elements.[8] There was no going to any other world. As one's birth as man, it was accidental and not as the result of any merit or demerit.[9] Whether a man left the world or not he had to die some day. Therefore, the best thing was to enjoy himself.[10] One could not give up pleasures on account of the fear that they might lead to some disease, for, in that case one might as well as give up taking food even.[11] Nor is it necessary

---

[1] Bhāskara's *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya*, 3.3.53; *Tattvārtha-śloka-vārttika*, I. 104; *YTCIC*, p. 231.

[2] vv. 1858, 1872. GOS, Nos. XXX-XXXI.

[3] Chap. VIII, p. 236.

[4] *KM*, p. 37.

[5] *KMK*.

[6] *SK*, See below Nos. 8-11.

[7] See above p. 214, No. 8.

[8] न खलु अत्र पञ्चभूतव्यतिरिक्तः परलोक गामी जीवः स्मर्य्यते, अपि चैतानि-एव भूतानि स्वभावत एव एतत्प्रकारपरिणामपरिणतानि जीवः इति भण्यन्ते। यदा च एतानि त्यक्त्वा समुदयं पन्चत्वमुपगच्छति तदा 'मृतः पुरुषः' इति अभिधानं प्रवर्तते—*SK*, Chap. III; संस्कृत छाया.

[9] अतो यत् त्वया भणितं यथा दुर्लभं मनुजत्वम्, तद असंबद्धनेव। यतो न तत् सुकृतदुष्कृतानुभावेन लभ्यते, अपि च भूतपरिणतितः।—ibid.

[10] तथा यच्च भणितम्—'परलोक प्रत्यर्थिकोऽनङ्गः' इति एतदपि न शोभनं, यतः परलोक एव नास्ति, न च कोऽपि तत आगत्य आत्मानं दर्शयति। एवमपि च परिकल्पने अतिप्रसङ्ग इति।—ibid.

[11] तथा यच्च भणितम् 'दारुणो विषयविपाकः' इति एतदपि न युक्तिसंगतम्, यत आहारस्यापि विपाको दारुण एव, एवं च भोजनमपि परित्यक्तव्यम्।—ibid.

for one to live in a cremation ground for he has to die somewhere.[1]

The Lokāyatikas were, thus, the ultra-materialists believing in the principle of 'eat, drink, and be merry.[1]

14. *Śaṅkhadadhmās.* These are obviously the Śaṅkhadhamyās of the Jaina canons who blew a conch-shell to keep people away.[2]

15. *Kulantapas.* Kulantapas are not to be confounded with the Kaulas who were the believers of philosophy of *kula* and are separately mentioned by Siddharṣi Sūri. They should be identified with the Kūlaṁdhamyās of the Jaina canons who blew conch-shell on the *kūla* (bank) of a river to keep people away while taking their meal.[3]

16. *Girirohas.* A sect the members of which mounted a hill to throw down themselves is mentioned in the *Kuvalayamālā.*[4]

17. *Pāṇḍuribhikṣus.* The sect is mentioned in the *Samarāiccakahā* and the *Kuvalayamālā* as well. Its members abstained from taking milk, honey, as well as all milk-products.[5]

18. *Hastitāpasas.* Hastitāpasas are mentioned in Jaina canons as Hatthi-tāvasas. They were so named because they lived by killing an elephant and living on it. They believed that thus they abstained from the sin of killing many other animals. The sin incurred in killing a single animal, they believed, was counterbalanced by sparing many smaller lives.[6]

19. *Vilavāsas.* As it is evident from the name itself the Vilavāsins lived in caves. They are mentioned also in the Jaina canons.[7]

20. *Sthālikas.* They are perhaps identical with the Thālais of the Jaina canons. The Thālais carried with themselves all their belongings wherever they went.[8]

---

[1] तथा यच्च भणितं 'प्रभवति च सदा अनिवारितप्रसरोमृत्युः' इति एतदपि बालवचनमात्रम्, येन निष्क्रान्तस्यापि एष अनिवारितप्रसर एव, तेनापि च श्रमणेन पर्यन्ते मर्तव्यमिति न च 'पर्यन्ते मर्तव्यम्' इति श्मशाने एव अवस्थानमुपपन्नम् ibid.

[2] *Schools and Sects in Jain Literature*, p. 40.

[3] ibid.

[4] *KMK*, p. 204, line 35.

[5] *SK*, pp. 674-5, संस्कृत छाया; *KMK*, p. 206, line 11.

[6] *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*, p. 39.

[7] ibid., p. 40.

[8] ibid.

21. *Ghaṭacaṭakas.* The word *ghaṭacaṭaka* is a compound of two words *ghaṭa* and *caṭaka* meaning a pitcher and a bird respectively. Philosophically, the Ghaṭacaṭakas held the *jīva* identical with a bird and the body with a pitcher. Just as a bird captivated in a pitcher becomes free after the pitcher is broken, similarly the individual's soul was believed to have attained *mukti* (salvation) after the body was dead.[1]

22. *Kāruṇikasiddhāntins.* Paṇḍita Vācaspati Miśra in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara describes the Kāruṇika-siddhāntins as the members of a Śaiva sect who were later on substituted by the Kathaka-siddhāntins by Bhāskara and the Kālāmukhas by Yamunācārya.[2] But their correct religious ideas are now known to us from a much earlier source, the *Kuvalayamālā.* It has stated that the Kāruṇikas believed that the best form of *karuṇā* or compassion was to kill the lower creatures like insects and moths and thereby to finish off their lower or bad births.[3] The view was criticised by the Jainas and perhaps by others also on the ground that a creature is satisfied with the body which it gets by birth; none wants to die. To kill a living creature did not mean therefore showing him any pity.[4]

---

[1] *Moharājaparājaya*, Act IV, v. 25.
[2] *Bhāmatī* of Vācapati on *Brahmasūtras*, 2.2.37; Bhāskara's Bhāṣya on *Brahmasūtras*, 2.2.37 and Yamunācāryas *Āgama Pramāṇya*. See also *YTCIC*, p. 234.
[3] *KMK*, p. 206, line 3.
[4] ibid., line 5.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RELIGION: ITS POPULAR SIDE

Pilgrimages

The belief in the existence of certain places as especially holy has always been found in all important religions of the wo_ld, and a pilgrimage to them at least once in human life has ever been an object of spiritual ambition. A large number of texts dealing with the Hindu *tīrthas* were added to many Purāṇas, during the period showing thereby, the growing popularity of this institution. *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Varāha* and *Agni Purāṇas*[1] contain elaborate account of many Hindu *tīrthas* which has been drawn upon by Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara (11th cen.) in his digest on the subject.[2] Yuan Chwang gives a long account of the Buddhist holy places and for the popularity of pilgrimages among Jainas one may look to their Paṭṭāvalis and Tīrthamālās.[3]

Various must have been the reasons which gave rise to the belief in the sanctity of *tīrthas*. Some of them have a natural grandeur, which associates them in the human mind with divine presence. Rivers like Gaṅgā and Yamunā may have been regarded as sacred on account of the benefits they confer on humanity, and in a similar class we may put also sacred ponds, lakes and trees. Others received their sanctity through their association with either historical personages or religious teachers like Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, the Buddha, Mahāvīra and Pārśvanātha. Some as we might see from literary sources like *Kuvalayamālā*[4] and the accounts of the

---

[1] *MP*, Chaps. 22, 102-11, 122; *Kūrma Purāṇa*, I. 30-38; II. 35-37, 40-42; *VP*, Chaps. 126, 137-9; *AP*, Chaps. 109-16. *Agni Purāṇa* also furnishes a very valuable list of the Hindu *tīrthas* extending from the Himalayas to Cape Camorin and from Dwārkā to Kāmrūpa. See Appendix IX.

[2] He records the details about the following *Tīrthas* : "Vārāṇasī, Prayāga, Gayā, Kurukṣetra, Pṛthudaka, Mathura, Ujjainī, Narmadā; Kuvayayuka, Śūkara, Kokāmukha, Badrikā, Mandāra, Śālagrāma, Stutaswāmī, Dwārkā, Lohārgala, Kedāra, Naimiṣa, Navatīrtha and Mahātīrtha.—*KKT*, *Tīrthakāṇḍa*.

[3] See below. [4] p. 55.

Chinese travellers were invested with miraculous power by credulous people, and however ill or well deserved such a reputation may have been, it drew big crowds to these sacred places.

Pilgrimages to the sacred places may have been deliberately encouraged by great reformers like Śaṅkarācārya for they saw in them a good means of bringing together the members of an order once or twice a year to discuss matters pertaining to their discipline, doctrinal difficulties and differences, and the matters concerning the welfare of the order and their lay followers.[1] There was, to the popular mind, no shorter cut to the cure of one's spiritual as well as physcial ills and the attainment of *svarga* after death. If by mischance one could not secure happiness in this world, he could by pilgrimages assure, at least, a much better future in lives hereafter. Performing an *Aśvamedha* or other costly sacrifices and building rest-houses and big temples may not have been within the means of everyone. But even the poorest man in a village or town could hope to perform a *yātrā* and secure merit thereby. Even the great sins (*mahāpātakas*) could, according to Devala, be neutralized by *tīrthacarcā* or *tīrthayātrā*.[2]

Every river was holy; but of all rivers the Gaṅgā was regarded as the holiest. According to the *Matsya* and *Kūrma Purāṇas* the mere remembrance of the Gaṅgā, even from a distance of a thousand *yojanas*, was sufficient to wash away all the sins of an evil doer and, ultimately, to lead him to emancipation.[3] Yuan Chwang also noted the same fact. He found that Gaṅgā was popularly known as 'Fu-Shui' or 'Happiness water,' that is, 'the water (or river) of religious merit.'[4] By bathing in the sacred water of Kāverī, one obtained the benefits of the performance of

---

[1] According to the *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvali*, a Jaina teacher was to accompany the *Saṅgha* on such *yātrās*, because it enabled him to learn the language of many parts of the country besides visiting sacred places. It gave him an occasion also to demonstrate the correctness of the views of his own *Saṅgha*; in case its views were questioned by any one in the course of the *tīrthayātrā*. —vide., p. 36.

[2] Devala quoted in the *Tīrtha-Prakāśa*, I, p. 15.

[3] *MP*, Chap. 103, v. 13, p. 242. *Kūrma Purāṇa*, I. 36, vv. 29-30.

[4] Watters, I, p. 319.

an *Aśvamedhayajña* and lived in the realm of Rudra hereafter.[1] One who visited and bathed in the river Sarasvatī went to the region of Brahmā.[2]

Some of the holiest *tīrthas* of India were connected with these sacred rivers. Vārāṇasī, as reported by Alberuni, was so sacred that people desired to live there to the end of their lives. Even a murderer was beyond the pale of punishment, if he entered Vārāṇasī.[3] Its most sacred sites were Hariścandra, Āmrātakeśvara, Japyeśvara, Śrīparvata, Mahālaya, Bhṛgu, Caṇḍeśvara and Kedāra[4]; and the river Gaṅgā, though holy at all places was regarded as exceptionally sacred at Gaṅgādvāra, Prayāga and Gaṅgāsāgara.[5] Gaṅgadvāra is modern Hardwar where the Gaṅgā finally breaks through the mountains into the plains of North India. Prayāga is eulogised as the "King of Tīrthas" (*tīrtharāja*) and as the abode of all other *tīrthas* like Naimiṣa, Puṣkara, Gotīrtha, Sindhusāgara, Caitraka, Gaṅgāsāgara and many sacred hills along with the thirty crores of other *tīrthas*.[6] The sacred objects of a pilgrim's veneration there were Kamvala, Aśvatara, Bhogavatī, Urvaśipulina, Sandhyāvaṭa, Mānasa lake and Vāsaraka.[7] Gaṅgāsāgara is the place where the Gaṅgā falls into the sea. Mathura stands on the

---

[1] *MP*, Chap. 188, verse 14, p. 563.

[2] सरस्वत्यां सन्निहित्यां स्नानकृट्द्ह्मलोकभाद् ॥—*AP*, Chap. 109, v. 15 (p. 234). Other sacred rivers of India, according to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, were Gomatī, Saryū, Irāvatī, Yamunā, Veṇumatī, Vetravatī, Kṣiprā, Narmadā, Varuṇā, Tapatī, Payoṣṇī, Veṇā, Daśārṇa, Śatarudrā, Śatāhavā, Kālikā, Vitastā, Vāṭanadī, Kṣīrnadī, Maṇimatī, Girikarṇikā, Champā, Mahāśāla, Tuṅgabhadra, Bhīmarathī, Godāvarī, Matsyanadī, Kadalī, Bāhudā, Pārvatikā, Sendraphenā, Malandarā, Kauśikicāñdrikā and Aughavatī.—Chap. 22.

[3] Sachau, II, p. 146.

[4] *AP*, Chap. 112, vv. 3-5. But According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* the most sacred places in Vārāṇasi were Viśvesānandakānana, Daśāvamedha, Lokārka, Keśava Vindumādhava and Maṇikarṇikā.—Chap. 184, vv. 66-67.

[5] *AP*, Chap. 111, vv. 11-12. The Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bauka says that Bhiltādiya, even while young, proceeded to Gaṅgadvāra, where he stayed for eighteen years and finally went to heaven.—*EI*, XVIII, p. 95.

[6] *MP*, Chap. 108, vv. 15-16; Chap. 109, vv. 1-3.

[7] *AP*, Chap. 111, vv. 5, 13, 14.

right bank of Yamunā. It was the birthplace and the chief centre of the life activities of Kṛṣṇa. Its principal sites were the Viśrānti-tīrtha, Asikuṇḍa-tīrtha, Vaikuṇṭha-tīrtha, Kāliñjara-tīrtha and the Cakra-tīrtha.[1] Ujjayinī is situated on the river Śiprā. The Śiva temple of Mahākāla was its most famous place of worship.[2] Ayodhyā is on the bank of Sarayū and is associated with the line of Raghu. Naimiṣa was a *tīrtha* on the bank of the Gomatī river, it was here that the *Mahābhārata* was narrated by Sauti to the assembled sages.

Besides these there were a large number of sacred ponds and lakes associated with some mythological or cultural event in the history of our country. Puṣkara is a celebrated tank near Ajmer. Brahmā accompanied by all gods was believed to reside there.[3] According to Alberuni the image of Viṣṇu's boar-incarnation was also an object of people's veneration at Puṣkara. Outside the town there were three other sacred ponds.[4] Kurukṣetra was visited because of being "the theatre of the exploits of Vāsudeva in the war of Bhārata and the destruction of evil-doers." Hindus came from far and wide to bathe in its holy pond, particularly on the occasion of an eclipse.[5]

Some places had become famous on account of their association with either holy images or great figures like Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. In Mūlasthāna (modern Multan), for instance, the idol of Sun was the chief attraction of pilgrims. Hindu kings paid so much respect to it that many times they had to withdraw their armies from Multan because they were threatened by the Arabs with the demolition of their favourite image.[6] At Thaneswara was the famous idol of Cakrasvāmin (Viṣṇu) made of bronze and of the size of man. It was believed to have been installed to commemorate the Bhārata war.[7] In Kashmir a wooden idol of goddess Śāradā was much

---

[1] *VTK*, p. 19.
[2] *Kād.*, pp. 100-101.
[3] *AP*, Chap. 109, vv. 55-6. Puṣkara as a great *tīrtha* is eulogised also in the British Museum Fragmentary Inscription of the Ascetic Vakulrāja.—*IA*, XIII, p. 250.
[4] Sachau, II, p. 147.
[5] ibid.
[6] Al Istarkhi, *ED*, I, pp. 27-28.
[7] Sachau, I, p. 117.

venerated and her temple frequently visited by pilgrims.[1] At Somanātha Paṭṭan in Gujarat was the celebrated *Śivaliṅga* called Somanātha. Pilgrims from all quarters of India visited it.[2] The city of Dwarkā was once Kṛṣṇa's capital in Gujarat. Mithilā which corresponds to the modern Tirthut and Purniya, between the Gandaki and Kosi rivers, was the birth place of Sītā. People showed there the Śākalyakuṇḍa, the place where Rāma and Sītā were married. It had also the sacred temples of Pātālaliṅgas and various other gods and goddesses.[3] Gaya is traditionally associated with the name of the demon Gaya who performed a penance there and attained salvation. To go there and perform the *gayāśrāddha* is believed as equivalent in merit to an *Aśvamedhayajña*.[4]

There were also many sacred hills whose sanctity was either due to their natural grandeur or their association with great gods like Śiva, Viṣṇu and others. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* even the sight of Himalayas was sufficient to wash off all sins of a pilgrim and the ascetics attained *siddhi* by practising penance in the Himalayas even for a short period.[5] Kailāsa, a mountain in the Himalayas, was believed to be the paradise of Śiva. Kuvera is also said to have resided there.[6] Arvudācala was the famous Śākta centre. Vindhyācala is one of the seven sacred hills of India known as *kulaparvatas*, i.e., the family of mountains.[7] During the period it had a very famous shrine of goddess Vindhyavāsinī.

Duties of Hindu Pilgrims

It was not every pilgrim who could reap the full benefit of a pilgrimage. To have the desired object, it was necessary to have not only faith but also a heart free from all evil passions. "Only he whose hands, feet, mind, *vidyā*, *tapa* and *kīrti* are properly disciplined," says Śaṅkha, "enjoys the fruits of a pilgrimage."[8] No

---

1 ibid., p. 117.
2 ibid., II, p. 104.
3 *VTK*, p. 32.
4 *AP*, Chap. 114, I. The ritualistic details of the Gayāśrāddha are explained in chapter 117 of the *Agni Purāṇa* and are performed even now by a large number of pious pilgrims.
5 Chap. 116, v. 16, p. 269.
6 ibid., Chap. 120, p. 280.
7 ibid., Chap. 113, p. 262. See also *AP*, Chap. 118, vv. 2-3, p. 251.
8 *Saṁkha S.*, Chap. VIII. 15 (*SS*, p. 381). See also *AP*, Chap. 109, vv. 1-2, p. 233.

good result accrues to one who is devoid of faith. While visiting a holy region, even riding on a conveyance, was regarded as bad. "One who goes to Prayāga, in a conveyance," says the *Matsya Purāṇa*, "goes to hell and his libations are refused".[1]

At the time of setting off, a pilgrim worshipped his tutelary deity, recited hymns and prayers, fasted and gave alms to the Brāhmaṇas, the priests and other deserving people.[2] In the course of his pilgrimage he gave charity liberally. In the Tiwarkhed plates, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Naunarāja is said to have visited the Kapila-tīrtha on the day of a solar eclipse, where he bathed and made gift of land as did his two principal officers, Govinda the *Dharmāṅkuśa* and Narasiṁha the *Mahasandhivigrahi*.[3] The Jodhpur inscription of Pratīhāra Bauka also records that Śiluka Pratihāra had once a tank excavated, a city established and the lofty temple of Sidhdeśvara Mahādeva constructed at Tretā-*tīrtha*.[4] While staying in a holy region he was to adhere strictly to the rule of shaving his head and fasting.[5]

Offering libations of water to the manes at a *tīrtha* was a meritorious deed, the merit accruing from the performance of this duty at some *tīrthas* being regarded as even inexhaustible. According to Parāśara, a twice-born man in his way to a pilgrimage is said to have been followed by manes, who, feeling thirsty, desire to drink water. It is, therefore, obligatory for every pilgrim to offer libations to his forefathers, before squeezing out water from his wet clothes. Otherwise all of them return disgusted to their abode.[6]

Suicide at Centres of Pilgrimage

One of the unhealthy excrescences of pilgrimages was suicide at Vārāṇasī, Prayāga and Gayā. The *Likhita Smṛti* says that a man who returned alive from a holy place like Kāśī is ridiculed by the

---

[1] Chap. 105, vv. 4-5. See also *Padmapurāṇa*, *Svargakhaṇḍa*, Chap. 43, vv. 4-5.

[2] Sachau, II, p. 142.

[3] *EI*, XI, p. 279.

[4] *EI*, XVIII, p. 95.

[5] *AP*, Chap. 115, v. 7.

[6] *Parāśara S.*, Chap. XII, vv. 12-13. See also *Śaṅka S.*, XIV, 27-29 (*SS*, p. 387).

spirits who think of him as an unfortunate being.[1] In Prayāga, Yuan Chwang saw that at the junction of the rivers there was the grand Arena of largesse, to the east of which "everyday the number of people arrived to the sacred water hoping to be reborn in the Heaven."[2] I-tsing witnessed many people drowning themselves there everyday.[3] Of Bodhgayā, he says, "in the hills of ¸Buddhagayā too there are not infrequently cases of suicide. Some starve themselves and eat nothing. Others climb up the tree and throw themselves down."[4] Alberuni testifies to the continuance of the practice in the tenth century. He states that Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas were forbidden by a special law to commit suicide by burning themselves, but there was no such restriction imposed upon Vaiśyas and Śūdras.[5] Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, if they wanted to kill themselves, did so at the time of an eclipse in some other manner, or employed someone to throw them into Gaṅgā and to keep them under the water until they died.[6] Like I-tsing he says that at Prayāga, Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas were in the habit of committing suicide by climbing up the trees and throwing themselves into the Ganges.[7] The practice is mentioned in the *Matsya*[8], *Kūrma*[9], and *Padma Purāṇas*.[10] The *Matsya* says, "the one who departs from his body near the Akṣayavaṭa in Prayāga, goes straight to the region of Śiva."[11]

Many historical instances of religious suicide are recorded in our epigraphs. The Aphsad stone inscription of Ādityasena says that Kumāragupta entered into a fire of cowdung cakes "as into water" at Prayāga.[12] According to Princep the Baroda plates

---

[1] Verse 11 (*SS*, p. 180). People who gave up their life in Vārāṇasī were commonly believed to be liberated for good.—*LAS*, I, 189 (*SS*, p. 150).

[2] Watters, I p. 364. The Chinese pilgrim adds that even animals killed themselves in that holy region.

[3] Takakusu, p. 198.

[4] ibid.

[5] Sachau, II, p. 170.

[6] ibid.

[7] ibid.

[8] Chap. 105, v. 11.

[9] Chap. 37, vv. 8-9.

[10] *Savargakhaṇḍa*, Chap. 43, v. 11.

[11] Chap. 105, v. 11.

[12] *CII*, Vol. III, No. 42, p. 203.

of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karka Suvarṇavarṣa refer to Dhruva's drowning himself at Prayāga.[1] The Chandela king Dhaṅga is stated to have entered the holy water at the confluence at Prayāga, meditating on Śiva.[2] The reference to a mass suicide can be seen in the instance of Gāṅgeya, a Kalacūri king, who came to the Akṣayavaṭa at Prayāga and sought release from *saṁsāra* with his one hundred queens.[3]

Buddhist Centres of Pilgrimage

Tradition records that before his *parinirvāṇa* the Buddha had himself instructed his disciples to pay holy visits to the four places, namely Lumbinī garden, Bodh-Gayā, Sarnath and Kuśīnāra, each connected with crucial events in his life. In the third century B.C., Aśoka visited these places including them among his *dharma-yātrās*, and it is obvious from various references that these sites, along with many others had become important centres of pilgrimage. During the period A.D. 600-1000 many Chinese pilgrims came to the holy land of India because it was here that the Buddha was born and preached his doctrine. Among these the most important were Yuan Chwang and I-tsing. In the year A.D. 964 three hundred monks started on a pilgrimage to India which lasted for twelve years. One hundred and fifty-seven monks came to India in A.D. 966.[4]

Buddhist pilgrimages, as already indicated, were connected or supposed to be connected with the Buddha. Lumbinī garden which has been identified with modern Rummindei in the Nepal Tarai was the site of his birth.[5] Aśoka visited it in the twentieth year after his coronation.[6] The Bodhi Tree at Gaya was the site of Buddha's attainment of enlightenment. Aśoka visited it in the tenth year after his consecration.[7] According to Yuan Chwang,

---

[1] This view of Princep is not accepted by Dr. A. S. Altekar.—*Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, p. 58.

[2] *EI*, I, p. 140.

[3] *EI*, XXI, p. 94; II, p. 4; XII, p. 211. It had happened in the year A. D. 1040.

[4] *AIK*, p. 443.

[5] Watters, II, p. 14.

[6] Rummindei Pillar Inscription, *CII*, Vol. I, p. 164.

[7] Rock Edict, VIII, ibid., pp. 36-37.

in the centre of the Bodhi Tree Enclosure was the "Adamant Seat" (*vajrasamādhi*) so called because one thousand Buddhas went there into the *vajrasamādhi* and attained salvation.[1] At Sarnath near Vārāṇasī the Master of Law, first turned his "wheel of Law." Kuṣīnāra or Kuśīnagara was the place where the Buddha entered into *nirvāṇa* under the grove of *śāla* trees. Śrāvastī was another important place of the Buddha's sojourn. Here he is said to have discomfited the Tīrthakas. Here stood the Jeṭavana in which Anethapiṇḍika built one of the first great Buddhist monasteries.[2] The place remained an important Buddhist centre even after A.D. 1000. Saṅkaṣya (Sankisha-Basantpur, Etah district, U.P.) was sacred to the Buddha because here the Master was said to have descended to earth, with two gods Indra and Brahmā, from Trayatriṁśa Heaven where he had gone to teach Abhidharma to his mother and the gods.[3]

Besides these, some places acquired sanctity on account of being connected either with the Buddhist *saṅghas* or being the strongholds of Buddhist activities. In the holy city of Rājagṛha identified with Rajgir in the Patna district of Bihar, was held the First Buddhist Council just after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. Its *caityas*, according to I-tsing, were visited by thousands of pilgrims every year.[4] Vaiśāli, the modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar, was the place of the Second Buddhist Council held about a hundred years after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*. In the seventh century there were numerous Buddhist monuments there.[5] Nālandā was a famous stronghold of Buddhism in the seventh century. Yuan Chwang who stayed there for a number of years describes its memorable sites. In its vicinity were Kuśāgarapur, the former capital of Magadha, the Vulture's Peak and the Bamboo Grove of Kālānta.[6]

---

1 Watters, II, pp. 113-15.
2 ibid., I, pp. 388-97.
3 ibid., p. 335.
4 Takakusu, p. 30.
5 Watters, II, p. 73.
6 *Hieuen Thsang in India*, p. 27. Sanchi, now one of the most important Buddhist sites, is not mentioned by Yuan Chwang and I-tsing.

Jaina Places of Pilgrimage

The *tīrtha* cult among the Jainas is very old.[1] Aṣṭāpada, Ujjayanta, Gajāgrapāda, Dharmacakra, Ahichatra, Pārśvanātha, Rathāvarta, and Camropāta have been mentioned as the holy centres of Jainism even in the Āgamas. The *Niśīthicūrṇi* regards the *dharmacakras* of Uttarāpatha, the divine *stūpas* of Mathura, Jivantaswāmin's image at Kośala and the birth-places, etc., of the Tīrthaṅkaras as *tīrthas*.[2]

Jaina centres of pilgrimage can be classed into two categories, the *siddhakṣetras* and the *atiśayakṣetras*.[3] The former were more important than the latter, being directly connected either with the life and career of the Tīrthaṅkaras or the great teachers. These were the places where they had attained *siddhi*. Of the centres connected with the life and career of the Tīrthaṅkaras the five connected with their *kalyāṇakas* namely (1) *cyavana* or conception (2) *janma* or birth, (3) *dīkṣā* or initiation, (4) *kevala-jñāña* or omniscience and (5) *nirvāṇa* or emancipation were specially holy. Devanandi (6th cen. A.D.) prays to the *kalyāṇaka* lands of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras in his Nirvāṇa-bhakti.[4] In the *Harivaṅśa-Purāṇa* of Jinasena II the five hills of Rājagṛha are described as specially holy on account of being the *samavasthānas* (places where they resided and preached) of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras except Vasupūjya .[5] The *atiśayakṣetras* were places important on account of miraculous powers which the images there were supposed to have. Of these there were many in the country.

A full account of the Jaina *tīrthas* can be had only rather late in the *Śāsanaturṭrmiśikā* of Madanakīrti (13th cen.) and the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri (14th cen.) which mention respectively twenty-six and thirty-eight *tīrthas*.[6] On the

---

[1] In the *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena I (9th cen.) a *tīrtha* has been defined as a means of the attainment of *mokṣa* and the sanctifier of the whole universe.—II. 39, 162, pp. 32, 44.

[2] Kalyāṇa's *Tīrthaṅka* (Gorakhapur), p. 545.

[3] Nāthurama Premi, *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, p. 422.

[4] Collected in the *Daśabhaktyādi-saṁgraha*, published by Akhila Visva Jain Mission, Gujrat. [5] III. 57.

[6] *SC*, published by Viraseva Sadan, Sarasava, Dist. Saharanpur, 1949. *VTK*, published in the *SJGM*, Vol. X.

basis of these two digests we list below the Jaina *tīrthas* classifying them under the heads of the *siddhakṣetras* and the *atiśaya-kṣetras*.

Siddhaksetras

Śatruñjaya was the most celebrated centre of Jaina pilgrimage. Being associated with the *tapaścaryā* of the first Tīrthaṅkara it was known as Siddhakṣetra or Siddhiśikhara. As all the succeeding Tīrthaṅkaras visited it and resided here at some time or the other in their life, the place became holier still and throughout the Jaina history has been regarded as most important of the Jaina *tīrthas*. One who starved himself to death on the Puṇḍrīka, i.e., Śatruñjaya was supposed to go straight to heaven.[1] Sammetaśikhara, which is identified with the Parasanath hill in the Hazari Bagh district of Bihar, was another important centre of Jainism. Here twenty Tīrthaṅkaras (except Ṛṣabhadeva, Vāsupūjya, Ariṣṭanemī, and Mahāvīra out of the total twenty-four) attained *siddhi*.[2] Aṣṭāpada or Dhavalagiri also known as Raivataka or Ujjayanta the place where Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara attained was *nirvāṇa*.[3] In Ahichatrapur, which is our modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district, Pārśvanātha performed his last austerities.[4] Hastināpur was regarded as the birth-place of Śāntī, Kantha and Ara, the 10th, 17th and 18th Tīrthaṅkaras. Malli also preached there. It, therefore, contained the *caityas* of these great teachers and the Jaina goddess Ambikādevī.[5] Kausāmbī, once the capital of Udayana, was the site of the *cyavana janma*, *dīkṣā* and *kevalajñāna* of the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara Munisuvrata.[6] Pāvā or Apāpāpurī in Patna district was a place where Mahāvīra breathed his last.[7] Pārśva was born at Vārāṇasī and Candraprabha at Candrāvatī which is a few miles from there.[8] At Campā, which is now a village at a distance of about six miles

---

1 *VTK*, p. 2, v. 51; p. 3, v. 59.
2 *SC*, Verse 11; Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa*, Vol. II, Table No. II, edited by P. L. Vaidya; *VTK*, p. 86.
3 *VTK*, pp. 7, 31, 91.
4 ibid., p. 14.
5 ibid., p. 27.
6 ibid., p. 23.
7 *SC*, v. 19; *VTK*, pp. 25 and 34.
8 ibid., pp. 72 and 74.

from Bhāgalapur, was born the twelfth Tīrthaṅkara Vasupūjya.[1] Kāmpilyapura in the Farrukhabad district was associated with the career of Tīrthaṅkara Vimala.[2] Ayodhyā or Sāketa was the birth-place of Ṛṣabha, Ajita, Abhinandana, Sumati and Ananta. The sacred sites there were Fārśvanātha-vāṭikā and the temple of Ajitasvāmī.[3] Śrāvastī was the place where Sambhava-svāmī was born and attained perfection.[4] Mithilā was the place of birth, *siddhi*, etc., of Malli and Nemī. Here preached also the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra.[5] Kākindī near Gorakhpur was the birth-place of Suvidhi or Puṣpadanta.[6] At 'Rājabhadra Bhadrilāvā, Siṁhapura or Sarnath, Sauripura (Agra division), Ratanpur in the Faizabad district and Kuṇḍagrāma were born respectively Śītala, Śreyāṁsa, Pārśva, Dharma and Mahāvīra.[7]

ATIŚAYAKSETRAS

Aṇhilpura and Pāṭaliputra had famous temples of Nemīnātha.[8] At Bhṛgukaccha or Barocha, which was also known as Aśvāvābodhitīrtha stood a temple of Muni-Suvrata.[9] Stambhanakapura which stood on the bank of the river Sedhi was a very important *tīrtha* with its temples of Pārśvanātha.[10] Dhārā, Śrīpura, Śaṅkheśvara, Harikaṅkhī, Mathura, Vārāṇasī Śuddhadantī, Phalavardha and Dhiñpurī on the Chambala were sacred places of Pārśvanātha and had his temples.[11] Mathura has been a very sacred place of Jainas from very ancient times. An image of Mahāvīra was set up there by Bappa Bhaṭṭi Sūri (v.s. 826) and a *stūpa* of Supārśva was built there by Mahālakṣmī.[12] Satya-

---

[1] *SC*, v. 21; *VTK*, p. 65.
[2] ibid., p. 50.
[3] ibid., p. 85.
[4] ibid., p. 70.
[5] ibid., p. 32
[6] ibid., p. 2. Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa*, edited by P. L. Vaidya. Vol. II, Table No. II.
[7] ibid.
[8] *VTK*, pp. 51 and 67.
[9] ibid., p. 20.
[10] ibid., p. 11.
[11] *SC*, vv. 3, 5; *VTK*, pp. 81 and 105.
[12] ibid., pp. 19 and 85.

pūrṇī in Rajasthan had a famous temple of Mahāvīra .[1] His other temples as centres of Jaina pilgrimage in Northern India were at Vaibhāragiri, Rājagṛha.[2] Kundageśvara in Ujjainī had a temple of Abhayadeva.[3] At Maṅgalapura in Mālwā was the temple of Abhinavadeva, to which a land of twelve ploughs was donated by Jayasiṁhadeva.[4] Avrodhanagara was a city holy on account of the image of Munisuvrata.[5] In Puṣpapura, perhaps identical with Patna was a famous image of Puṣpadanta, which according to Madanakīrti had come out from the ground itself.[6] On the Arbuda mountain the Jainas founded their famous Vimala-vasahī temple at Dīlwāra in about A. D. 1031, a little after the period.[7]

Though the number of Tīrthaṅkaras was twenty-four, the most worshipped of them, according to the forty-fifth *kalpa* of the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* which records the installation of the eighty-four images of the Jainas in different places of Jainism[8], were Ādinātha, Śāntideva, Candraprabha, Suvrata, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra.[9]

---

[1] ibid., p. 28.
[2] ibid., p. 22.
[3] ibid., p. 88.
[4] ibid., p. 58.
[5] *SC*, v. 28.
[6] ibid., v. 12.
[7] *VTK*, p. 16.
[8] pp. 85 & 86. Of the eighty-four *tīrthas* some however were unimportant and some even imaginary.
[9] The *Sakala-tīrtha-stotra* of Siddhaseṇa Sūri which is an earlier book than the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* notices the following Tīrthas:

1. Sammeta-śaila, 2. Satruñjaya, 3. Ujjayanta, 4. Arvuda, 5. Cittara, 6. Jālora, 7. Raṇathambhor, 8. Gwalior, 9. Pārsvanatha's Stūpa at Mathura, 10. Rājagṛha, 11. Campā, 12. Pāvā, 13. Ayodhyā, 14. Kāmpilya, 15. Bhaddila, 16. Sauriya, 17. Aṅgamaika, 18. Śrāvastī, 19. Durgawa, 20. Vārāṇasī, 21. Karmaṭha, 22. Siroham in the Bhadana Desa, 23. Rājapatha, 24. Gajjapura, 25. Talavataka, 26. Devarāja, 27. Raṇḍila, 28. Hindavanaka, 29. Narana, 30. Harṣapura, 31. Khatava, 32. Nāgapura or Nagara, 33. Palli, 34. Saṇḍayaka, 35. Pānaka, 36. Karina, 37. Dindamana, 38. Ahava in Mewar, 39. Kiradoo, Satyapur, 40. Dhārāpātra, 41. Vayada, 42. Jalihara, 43. Nagara, 44 Kheda, 45. Modera, 46. Caddhavalli, 47. Sambhanapura, 48. Kaccha, 49. Suruta, and 50. Dhārā in Ujjain. *Vide*, *Catalogue of Manuscripts at Pattan*, Vol. I.

Most of these names are from Western India and Uttara Pradeśa.

VRATAS

Another popular feature which characterises Indian religious life, almost as much as pilgrimages, is the institution of *vratas*. *Vrata* means a vow. Nārāyaṇa defines it as a resolve to be followed for long periods of time[1]; and the resolve could be either of the nature of *pravṛtti* or *nivṛtti*. The *pravṛtti* would be in the form of having certain types of food, worshipping, performing set rituals and so on. The *nivṛtti* type included *upavāsa* or abstention from food and abstention from enjoyments.[2] Lakṣmīdhara (11th cen.) puts the same a little differently by saying that a *vrata* is a resolution based on Śāstra to the effect that this would be done by him and this would not be done.[3]

Vratas can be classified in many ways. The *nivṛtti* or *upavāsa* type, for instance, is further sub-divided into (*i*) *nitya* like *Ekādaśī*, (*ii*) *naimittika*, i.e., occasional like *Candrāyaṇa*; and (*iii*) *kāmya* or optional i.e., *vrata* performed with the object of gaining something.[4] Most of the *vratas* are of the *kāmya* type for a *vrata* was regarded as a means of gaining worldly happiness as well as of attaining *svarga* after death. The success of Sujaya in *Kṛtayuga*, of Rāma in *Tretā*, of Dhanañjaya in *Dvāpara* and of Vikrama in *Kaliyuga* is ascribed to the performance of *vratas*.[5]

Lakṣmīdhara groups the *vratas* under following heads:

1. *Vāra-vratas*, i.e., fasts on week days.
2. *Tithi-vratas*, i.e., fasts on certain days of the lunar months.
3. *Nakṣatra-vratas*, i.e., fasts on the days of certain lunar stations.
4. *Māsa-vratas*, i.e., fasts in certain months.
5. *Samvatsara-vratas*, i.e., fasts for a full year.
6. Miscellaneous *vratas*.[6]

---

[1] *VK* (*KKT*), Introduction, p. xxiii.
[2] ibid.
[3] *KKT*, *Gṛhasthakāṇḍa*, p. 274.
[4] ibid., *VK*, p. xxiii.
[5] ibid., pp. 1-2.
[6] Besides these the Dharmaśāstras and Purāṇas also speak of the Prāyaścitta-vratas, i.e, the expiatory vows. Alberuni also refers to some of these (Sachau, II, pp. 172-3). But as they

In the tenth century Alberuni noted the most important of these *vratas*.[1] Combining his account with the data in the *Vratakāṇḍa* of *Kṛtyakalpataru* and the works of Rājaśekhara we might list the following chief *vratas* :

Vāra-vratas. Of *Vāra-vratas* the most important was the Ādityavāra-vrata, and was performed in various ways, according to the faster's objectives.[2] The god worshipped was Sūrya.[3] Specially notable was the Anaṅgadāna-*vrata* performed by the hetaira on Sundays.[4] There could also be *vratas* on other week days to propitiate the other *grahas*.[5]

Tithi-vratas. Of *Tithi-vratas* there were many. Lakṣmīdhara lists three *Pratipadā-vratas* ; three *Dvitīya-vratas* ; eight *Tṛtīyā-vratas* ; six *Caturthī-vratas* ; seven *Pañcamī-vratas* ; three *Ṣaṣṭhī-vratas* ; *Saptamī-vratas* on all the *Saptamī* days, some of the *saptamīs* having even more than one *vrata* assigned to itself ; four *Aṣṭamī-vratas*, twelve *Navamī-vratas* ; one *Daśamī-vrata* ; *Ekādaśī* and *Dvādaśī-vratas* on all the *ekādaśī* and *dvādasī tīthis* ; one *Trayodaśī-vrata* ; one *Chaturdaśī-vrata* and five *Pūrṇamāsī-vratas*, besides many miscellaneous *vratas*.[6]

Tṛtīyā, *pañcamī*, *ṣaṣṭhī*, *saptamī* and *navamī* were the *tithis* supposed to give all that one wanted. But among the most sacred were *saptamī* of the month of Māgha, *navamī* of Āṣvina, *ṣaṣṭhī* of Bhādrapada, *tṛtīyā* of Vaiśākha, and *Nāga-pañcamī* of Bhādrapada.[7]

The *Śaka-saptamī* which began with *Kārttika-śukla-saptamī* had its *pāraṇā*, three times a year and was to be kept throughout life by one who took to observe it.[8] Other *saptamīs* were for obtaining certain objects.

---

have not been included by Lakṣmīdhara in his vrata-kāṇḍa, we also omit them here.

[1] Sachau, II, Chap. lxxv.

[2] *VK*, pp. 10-23.

[3] *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, quoted in *KKT*, *VK*, p. 9.

[4] *KKT*, *VK*, pp. 27-31.

[5] ibid.

[6] See the list given under the *Tithivratas* in the list of contents of the *VK* (*KKT*) of Lakṣmīdhara, pp. xii-xvii.

[7] *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* quoted in *KKT*, *VK*, p. 105.

[8] *KKT*, *VK*, p. 107.

The description of *Aṣṭamī-vratas* is introduced by Lakṣmīdhara with Durgāṣṭamī.[1] It was performed on the 8th day of the bright half of the month. Girls and Brāhmaṇas were fed and given *dakṣiṇā* .[2] The eighth day of the dark half of Āśvina was the Kālī-vrata or a fast in honour of Kālī.[3] On this day the faster performed *homa*, under the direction of an *ācārya*, after worshipping Ambā, Gaṇeśa, the Mothers, Kṣetrapāla, Śiva and Kārttikeya.[4] Tāntrika Mantras were used and the *bali* was offered to Kālī.[5] Eight Brāhmaṇas and virgins were feasted. The *vrata* could be performed by all, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas as well as Śūdras.[6] The eighth day of the black-half in the month of Bhādrapada was known as the Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī-*vrata*. A *vrata* was observed in memory of Kṛṣṇa's birth on this day.[7]

The *navamī* day was specially associated with valour, bravery and martial ardour. Lakṣmīdhara begins his account of *vratas* on this day with Śaurya *vrata* performed on the ninth day of the bright half of Āśvina.[8] The goddess worshipped was Durgā or Caṇḍikā.[9] In the month of Bhādrapada she was to be offered meat, and in Āśvina goats, buffalos and rams were slaughtered before her and Brāhmaṇas and women feasted with many kinds of meat and other food. In the month of Mārgaśīrṣa she was worshipped in the same manner and could be offered even the worshipper's own flesh and blood.[10] On the Mahānavamī day of the bright half of Āśvina the *vratin* fasted the whole day, and fed people at the end of the *pāraṇā*[11] (the first meal which is taken after a fast). *Ekādaśī-vrata*, though summarily dealt with by Lakṣmīdhara was extremely important as shown by Alberuni, according to whom the *Ekādaśī* day was specially holy to Vāsudeva

---

1 ibid., p. 220.
2 ibid., p. 226.
3 ibid., p. 263.
4 ibid., p. 265.
5 ibid., p. 266.
6 ibid., p. 268.
7 Sachau, II, pp. 175-6. In the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* are given its full details.—Chap. XXVI, *Śrikṛṣṇakhaṇḍa*.
8 *KKT, VK*, p. 273.
9 *Varāha Purāṇa*, quoted in *KKT, VK*, p. 273.
10 ibid., p. 280.
11 ibid., p. 298.

and was associated with Kṛṣṇa's episode of lifting the Govardhana mountain on his little finger.[1] The eleventh day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha was known as the Devaśayanī *vrata* when gods, along with Vāsudeva were to go to sleep. On this day the Vaiṣṇavas took food once only abstaining from meat, sweetmeats and sexual intercourse.[2] Exactly four months after the Devaśayanī *vrata*, i. e., on the eleventh day of the bright half of Kārttika, was held the Devotthanī-*Ekādaśī-vrata*, i.e., the day of Deva's waking from sleep.[3] According to Rājaśekhara, the people kept on this day a night-long vigil in honour of Mādhava.[4] The five days beginning with the Devotthanī *Ekādaśī* up to the end of month were the fast days called the Bhīṣmapañcarātri.[5]

The *Dvādaśī-vratas* were specially sacred to Viṣṇu and his various *avatāras*, namely, Matsya, Kūrma, Vārāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana, Jāmadagnya, Rāghava, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, Kalkī, Padmanābha and Yogeśvara.[6] The Śiva-Caturdaśī the details of which we have discussed above (Chap. V) was sacred to Śiva and was one of the most important fasts of the year.

Māsa-vratas. Of the *Māsa-vratas* the most important was in Kārttika when people bathed early in the morning, performed the Gāyatri *japa* and took food only once a day.[7]

The deties connected with the *vratas* noted by Lakṣmīdhara are Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaurī, Āditya, Gaṇeśa, Soma, Indra, Mars, Kalkī, Pradyumna, Aśvattha, Vāsudeva, Rohiṇī, Nṛsiṁha, Cāṇḍikā, Nāga, Ardhanāriśvara, Pavana, Brahmā, Sāvitri, Buddha, Yogeśvara, Vaiṣvānara, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Gaṅgā, and Skanda.[8] The Hindās' synthetic spirit is to be seen when they combine two gods for an *upavāsa*, for instance the Sun and Śiva in the Āditya-śayana-*vrata*[9]; Śambhu and Keśava in the Āyur-*vrata*[10]; and Saumya-*vrata*[11]. Aśvattha, the Sun and Gaṅgā in the Kīrti-

---

1 Sachau, II, p. 175.
2 ibid., p. 175.
3 ibid., p. 176.
4 *KM*, XVIII, p. 101.
5 Sachau, II, p. 177; *AP*, Chap. 205.
6 *VK* (*KKT*), pp. 310-69.
7 ibid., p. 418.
8 Index of Vratas in App. B of *VK*, pp. 471-8.
9 *VK*, p. 404.
10 ibid., p. 442.
11 ibid., p. 441.

vrata[1], Śaṅkara and Nārāyaṇa in the Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa-*vrata*[2]; Śambhū[2] and Sun in the Śaṅkarārka-*vrata*[3], Śiva with Umā and the Moon in the Soma-*vrata*[4] and Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Rudra and Umā in the Saubhāgyatṛtīyā-*vrata*.[5]

Duties of a Faster. *Vratas* had certain common features. An *upavāsa* according to Lakṣmīdhara meant abstention from bad things (*doṣas*) like attachment, hate, etc., and association with virtues like compassion. Sometimes one had to take at night light food offered to the gods and to sleep on the ground; at other times food was taken either one *muhūrta* before sunset or on seeing stars.[6] According to Hemādri who quotes from the *Varāha Purāṇa* the man performing a *vrata* must have *ahiṁsā* (non-violence), *satya* (truthfulness), *āsteya* (faith), *brahmacarya* (celibacy) and *akalmaṣa* (abstention from sin) to get its full fruit.[7] According to Devala, a man on *upavāsa* was not to sleep in the day time, or gamble[8] or have sexual intercourse. No unguents were to be used[9] and one was to abide by the ten commandments of *dharma*, i.e., *kṣamā* (forgiveness), *satya* (truthfulness), *dāna* (charity), *śauca* (purity), *indriyanigraha* (restraint of senses), *devapūjā* (worship to gods), *agnihavana* (oblations to fire), *santoṣa* (contentment) and *steyavarjana* (not to steal).[10] Thus a properly performed *vrata* was not something merely physical but something that could be of the greatest spiritual value.

Of the various religious acts prescribed for the attainment of *svarga* and other objectives, the *vratas* were the most popular, because they could generally be performed without much assistance from others. It was a personal act in which a *vratin* himself had to be interested. If he was poor he could merely keep a fast, without any need of feasting and giving money in charity. *Vrata* made no distinction of caste and sex, though some *vratas* must

---

1 ibid., p. 442.
2 ibid., p. 416.
3 ibid., p. 271.
4 ibid., p. 442.
5 ibid., p. 78.
6 ibid., Introduction, p. xxviii.
7 ibid., Introduction, pp. xxiv-xxviii.
8 ibid., p. 4.
9 *MP*, quoted in *KKT*, *VK*, p. 5.
10 *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.

have been naturally more popular with one section of society than the other. But there were plenty of them to cater to the tastes of all people. Like *tīrthas* and festivals they represented the popular side of Hinduism.

Jaina-Vratas

Vratas or vows are regarded as the mainstay of the *samyaktva* in Jainism. One has to abstain from wine, meat, honey and five kinds of fruits, i. e., Udumbara, Aśvattha, Plākṣa and Nyagrodha as they breed many living organisms.[1] The Jainas denounced also injury, stealing, falsehood, lust and greed.[2] There were vows also to restrict one's movement in certain directions and places and to abstain from things that lead to violence and injury. To these can be added the four Śikṣāvrata vows of customary worship, religious fasting, limitation of worldly enjoyment and charity. Of these, religious fasting was on the four days of the month, i. e., the eighth and fourteenth of the lunar days in each fortnight.[3]

The *Bṛhatkathākoṣa* of Hariṣeṇa refers very often to the Aṣṭāhnikapūjā. On this day the gods were supposed to go to the Nandīśvaradvīpa and offer worship. Corresponding to this was the Jaina worship thrice in a year during the months of Āṣādḥa, Kārttika and Phālguṇa when fast was observed and the worship performed. Thus the Aṣṭāhnika *parvas* came to twenty-four days in all. On the *Pūrṇiṃā* days of these months the people had the Kaumudī Mahotsava. During the period of the Aṣṭāhnikapujā also known as the Nāndīśvara *parva* people took vow not to kill anybody and celebrated the Rathayātrā.[4] Hariṣeṇa refers also to the Rohiṇī and Pañcamī-vratas. The former was performed when the moon was on the Rohiṇī-nakṣatra and according to Hariṣena meant forty fasts in three years or sixty-seven in five years and nine days. Pañcamī-vratas could be on *kṛṣṇāpañcamī* as well as *śuklapañcamī*. Some kept the fast in the dark half and some in the bright half only. At

---

[1] Somadeva calls these vows as *mūlaguṇas*.—*YTC*, pp. 327, 330

[2] These vows according to the *YTC* were the five *aṇuvratas*, p. 333.

[3] *YTCIC*, pp. 263, 269.

[4] *BKK*, *Katha* Nos. 12, 33, 56, 57, 63, 115, 134 and 149.

the time of ending the Pañcamī-fast one gave a *Pañcamī-pustaka* along with five other books, food, garments, etc. to the Jaina monks and nuns.[1] On the Jñānapañcamī day, i. e., the fifth day of the bright half of Kārttika if one observed the *vrata* in the prescribed manner, he, according to Maheśvarasūri, was sure to have good luck, birth in a noble family and finally even *mokṣa*.[2]

Fasts and penance had an important place in Jainism as means of ending the bondage of *karma* for every *karma* bears fruit unless it is ended some way or other and the way to end it is to undergo its fruit either voluntarily or involuntarily. Voluntary suffering therefore has a special place in Jainism. Regarding the value of penance of which fasts were a form, the *Kuvalayamālā* states that as the Sun-jewel emits fire when it is heated by the Sun so the *jīva* emaciated by *tapa* attains knowledge; as a gourd swims on water if it is without mud so a *jīva* also attains supreme position in the world if it is devoid of all *karma*.[3]

Fasting, eating less than the normal, begging food in a peculiar way, giving up dainty food, modifying the body, control over the senses, *dhyāna* and *yoga* were all necessary in Jainism. Fasts could be of various lengths. One-day fasts, two-day fasts and still longer fasts are mentioned in the Jaina scriptures.[4] Even now Jainas keep fasts more than others. But from references to fasting in the post-canonical texts it appears that they gradually became less hard than before. The *pratimās* which are long practices of bodily mortification were now generally avoided.[5]

Buddhist Fasts

Buddhist Brethren in India had set aside certain days in a year

---

[1] *Kathā* No. 57. vv. 324-6, 525-6, 535.

[2] सोहग्गं कुलुजम्मो वाहि विमुक्खो पियजणसंजोगो।
वंधणमुयणं विहवो करचरणच्छीण तहभावो॥
दीवंतरं मि सोक्खं विम्हयजणणं समत्थलोयाण।
मणुयसुरासुरसोक्खं फलं च तीसे तओ मोक्खो॥
—*Jñānapañcamīkathā* I.

[3] *KMK*, p. 98, lines 22-23.

[4] For details of these fasts based on the canonical texts one is referred to the *History of Jain Monachism*, pp. 189 ff.

[5] ibid., p. 419. From a quotation in the *Vidhiprapā* (14 cen. of v.s.) it seems that some Hindu fasts had also been adopted by the Jainas though they are not mentioned in the *Āgamas*. Later purists gave up these fasts.

as fast days. Yuan Chwang noted at Mathura that "the Three Longs" of every year and the "six fast days" were the occasions of Buddhist festivities.[1] The "Three Longs" according to Thomas Watters were the three months of fasts, i. e., the first, the fifth and the ninth of the year. The six fast days were the eighth, the fourteenth and the fifteenth of every half month.

On these days every Buddhist worshipped the image of his tutelary saint with the offerings of many valuables. The Abhidharma Brethren offered worship to Sāriputra; the Samādhists to Mudgalputra; the Vinayist to Upāli; the Bhikṣuṇīs to Ānanda; the Śrāmaṇers to Rāhula and the Mahāyānists to various Pausas. Referring to the ceremonial part of the days he writes that on these the topes vied with each other in worship; banners and sunshades were displayed; the incense made clouds and the flowers were scattered in showers; the king and his statesmen devoted themselves to good works.[2]

Popular Beliefs

Belief in dreams, astrology, omens and the things supernatural has always prevailed in Indian society. During the period, this belief was all the greater on account of the influx of Tāntric practices. How deeply the people were engrossed in superstition can be seen from the following description of the various means adopted by Vilāsavatī to get a son.

"She was more and more devoted to propitiating the gods, honouring Brāhmaṇas, and paying reverence to all holy persons; whatever recommendation she heard from any source she practised in her longing for a child nor did she count the fatigue whatever great; she slept within the temple of Durgā, dark with smoke of bdellium ceaselessly burnt, on a bed of clubs covered with green grass, fasting, her pure form clothed in white raiment; she bathed under cows endued with auspicious marks, adorned for the

---

[1] ibid., p. 304. According to I-tsing, the fasting days were four in a month. These were the eighth and fourteenth or the tenth and fifteenth day in the dark half of the moon and the eighth and fifteenth in the bright half. On these days the Buddhists took upon themselves the Upavasasatha-vows, i. e., to receive the eight precepts of *Śila* during the day.—Takakusu, p. 188.

[2] Watters, I, p. 302.

occasion by the wives of the old cowherds in the herd-stations, with golden pitchers, laden with all sorts of jewels, decorated with branches of the *pīpal*, decked with diverse fruits and flowers and filled with holy water; every day she would rise and give to Brāhmaṇas golden mustard-leaves adorned with every gem; she stood in the midst of a circle drawn by the king himself, in a place, where four roads meet, on the fourteenth night of the dark fortnight, and performed auspicious rites of bathing, in which the gods of the quarters were gladdened by the various oblations offered; she honoured the shrines of the *siddhas* and sought the houses of neighbouring Mātṛkās, in which faith was displayed by the people; she bathed in all the celebrated snakeponds; with a sunwise turn, she worshipped *pīpal* and other trees to which honour was wont to be shown; after bathing, with hands circled with swaying bracelet, she herself gave to the birds an offering of curds and boiled rice, placed in silver cup; she offered daily to the Goddess Durgā a sacrifice consisting of parched grain of oblation, boiled rice, sesamum, sweetmeats, cakes, unguents, incence and flowers in abundance; she besought with a mind prostrate in adoration, the naked wandering ascetics, bearing the names of *siddhas* and carrying their begging bowls filled by her; she greatly honoured the directions of fortune-tellers; she frequently consulted all the soothsayers learned in signs; she showed all respect to those who understood the omens of birds; she accepted all the secrets handed down in the tradition of a succession of venerable sages; in her longing for the sight of a son, she made the Brāhmaṇas who came into her presence chant the Vedas; she heard sacred stories incessantly repeated; she carried about little casket of *mantras* filled with birch leaves written over in yellow letters; she tied strings of medicinal plants as amulets; even her attendants went out to hear passing sounds and grasped the omens rising from them; she daily threw out lumps of flesh in the evening for the jackals; she told the *paṇḍits* the wonders of her dreams, and at the cross-roads she offered oblations to Śiva".[1]

Bad omens were believed to forebode unhappy events. Bāṇa lists many evil signs which were regarded as indicative of coming misfortune. Before the death of his father and the receipt

---

[1] *Kādambari*, English translation by C. M. Ridding, pp. 55-6.

of the news of his brother's murder Harṣa is said to have witnessed many evil signs, viz., throbbing of his left eye; running to the left of the rows of deers; sight of a Yamapaṭṭika, Nagnāṭa or Kṣapaṇaka; the flying of crows overhead; appearance of spots in the Sun, falling of meteors, burning of directions, loss of the Moon's brightness and a few others.[1] Many more evil signs are said to have been witnessed by his enemies when he started on his *digvijaya*. Of these the main were, running past of the rows of black deers, buzzing of bees in one's yard, howling of jackals in day-time, swooping down of vultures without there being any visible victim, appearance of untimely flowers, falling of chowries from the servants' hands, appearance of footsteps marked with wheel, conch and lotus in the head ornaments of the queens and various other like signs.[2]

Similarly there were good omens. Of these Bāṇa mentions the sounding of a drum without being beaten, the joyful neighing of the horses holding grass in their mouths, the musical trumpeting of elephants throwing up their trunks in ecstacy, blowing of the fragrant breezes, the burning of a sacrificial fire without any fuel, and the discovery of the treasure troves by the subjects.[3] To these we can add the showers of the heavenly flowers dropped by the gods, the blowing of the cool breezes, etc. and the finding of the treasures moving with their guardian serpents, at the time of the king's starting on his *digvijaya*, on the basis of the *Gauḍa-vāho*.[4]

The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* or the Encyclopaedia Indica of the sixth century A.D., as we might fitly term it, discusses various omens both good and bad. Its chapters on omens show that the birds were believed to unfold the good or bad fate awaiting a man. The soothsayers were expected to read one's future on the basis of bird's sounds. Their gentle cooing or twitter was deemed to be good.[5]

People believed also in dreams, a dream at four in the morning being regarded as specially accurate in its forecast.[6]

---

[1] *HC*, V, pp. 152, 153; VI, p. 186.
[2] ibid., pp. 200-201.
[3] *HC*, IV, pp. 128-129.
[4] *GV*, vv. 193-201.
[5] Chapters LXXXVI-XCV.
[6] *Kād.*, p. 131. See also No. 2 on p. 244.

Harṣa's mother is said to have dreamt that two young boys and a girl had entered her womb.[1] In the last quarter of the night Harṣa dreamt that a lion was burning and a lioness falling into the fire leaving her cubs.[2] This indicated, according to Bāṇa, the approaching death of Harṣa's father and the self-immolation of his mother, leaving behind her children. Before the death of Rājyavardhana Harṣa saw in his dream the falling down of an iron pillar.[3] In the play *Veṇīsaṁhāra* Duryodhana's mishap is betokened by a dream.[4]

Various devices were adopted to counteract the bad effects of dreams. The *Agni Purāṇa*, for instance, prescribed such remedies, as a ceremonial ablution, propitiating the Brāhmaṇas, pouring oblation of clarified butter with sesamum into the fire worshipping gods like Hari, Brahmā, Śiva, Gaurī and the Sun and reciting the Vedic hymn Puruṣasūkta.[5] In the *Veṇī-saṁhāra*, Bhānumati is advised by her maid-servant to get over the bad effects of her dream by means of *devakīrtana*.[6] Suvadanā, a friend of Bhānumatī, wished her to use the holy water of Ganges, to secure the blessings of Brāhmaṇas and to offer oblation in the sacred fire[7] and Bhānumatī herself is represented as offering water to the Sun and requesting the Brāhmaṇas to chant Vedic *mantras* to avert the bad effect of her dream.[8]

Very few disbelieved in the existence of ghosts and other evil spirits. They were supposed to come out at night to trouble the people and to speak with a nasal twang.[9] Superior to the ordinary spirits was the *Brahmarākṣasa* as his was believed to be the spirit of some learned *paṇḍit* who took delight in literary talks and lived either in a school or a temple.[10] A spirit could not

---

[1] *HC*, IV, p. 124.
[2] ibid., V, p. 150.
[3] ibid., VI, p. 185.
[4] Act II.
[5] Chap. 229, vv. 14-15.
[6] Act II, p. 41.
[7] ibid., p. 52.
[8] ibid., p. 55.
[9] *VSB*, Act III, p. 125.
[10] *VSB*, Act II, p. 111. The *AH* says:
शास्त्रवेदपठं विद्याद् गृहीतं ब्रह्मराक्षसैः।—*Uttarasthāna*, Chap. V, v. 25.

harm one who chanted appropriate *mantras*, had a recourse to learned Brāhmaṇas and tied his *śikhā* (curl of hair in the centre of the head).[1] Both Bāṇa and Rājaśekhara speak of a class of people who claimed to drive out the evil spirits by force of *mantras*.[2]

Another indication of this credulity is in the peoples' extreme belief in astrology. Astrologers predicted the future greatness of Harṣa.[3] Bāṇa set out from his house after consulting astrologers.[4] Harṣa started on his career of conquest at the exact time fixed as auspicious by the astrologers of his court.[5] Chandrāpīḍa, the hero of Bāṇa's famous romance, *Kādambarī*, suffered because he started to see Kādambarī and Puṇḍarīka in spite of being told that the planets were exercising their worst influence at that time.[6] Abu Zaid noted that the rulers of India patronised astronomers and diviners who drew omens from flight of crows, etc.[7] and it is not unlikely that Indian rulers might have lost many a battle and missed many a golden opportunity to attack the enemy on account of this credulity. Kauṭilya must have noted this weakness in the Indian character when he said that "wealth will pass away from that childish man who inquires most after the stars ; for wealth is the star for wealth ; what will the stars do."[8]

The popular features of religion which we have noticed above had their good as well as bad points. They give to Hinduism a comprehensiveness, that no other religious system had attained till then. Every section of society, high as well as low, rich as well as poor, the highly cultured as well as primitive, was now within its compass, and people who kept the same fasts, worshipped at the same shrines and went to the same centres of pilgrimage could not but feel some sort of cultural unity. But

---

1 *VSB*, Act I, v. 3; Act II, p. 105.
2 See No. 10 on p. 244 and *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*, Uttara-sthana, Chaps. IV and V.
3 *HC*, IV, p. 128.
4 ibid., II, p. 57.
5 ibid., VII, pp. 202-3.
6 *Kād.*, p. 503.
7 *ED*, I, p. 10.
8 *AS*, Book IX, Chap. IV.

Hinduism unfortunately comprehended not only what was good but also a good deal that was bad. While bringing new people within its fold, Hinduism did not insist on a certain minimum of ethical morality or religious convictions, with the result that Hindu culture suffered. Superstition increased. There was too much belief in the supernatural. The community passed through a phase in which real religious goodness suffered; and the result of this is manifest in the cultural as well as political spheres. If the *Cācnāmāh* be believed, belief in stars brought about the fall of Sindh.[1] The Pratihāras did not capture Multan, because they had belief more in the sanctity of the idol than of the religion which gave it its sanctity.[2] Obviously, the best days of Hinduism were over, and it was passing through a period in which along with something that was good there was also a good deal of dross.

---

[1] The *Cācnāmāh* says that the chiefs of Sind said "Our wise men have predicted that Sind will come under the sway of Islam. Why then should we battle against Fate."—*Cācnāmāh*, Introduction, p. vii.

[2] See above No. 6, p. 224.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS RITES, CEREMONIES AND FESTIVALS

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS are intertwined inextricably in the life of Indians. Even if it is a social function, some popular elements get associated with it. Similarly even social functions have been given a religious character by getting associated with religious practices and worship of various deities. We find such instances in the socio-religious rites of Hinduism. Of these we discuss first the *saṁskāras* (sacraments) on account of their importance in the Hindu life.

SAṀSKĀRAS

Hinduism has a large number of socio-religious rites. Of these the most important were the *saṁskāras*.

The word *saṁskāra* is derived from the root *kṛ* with the prefix *sama*. It means, therefore, any rite that purifies. "By birth," according to Dharmasāstra, "everyone is born as a Śūdra; it is a *saṁskāra* that turns one into a *dvijāti*".[1] The real qualities of a Brāhmaṇa spring only from the *saṁskāras*. "Just as a work of painting," says Parāśara, "gradually unfolds itself on account of the several colours, so the Brāhmaṇahood is, similarly, brought out by the *saṁskāras* performed according to the prescribed rites."[2] Here the words 'gradually' (शनैः) and 'several' (अनेकैः) ndicate that the individuality of the recipient is unfolded by the performance of every *saṁskāra*, whether major or minor, at the different stages of his progress. The same thing is stated though a bit differently by Śaṅkarācārya according to whom a *saṁskāra* is imparted either by the addition of new qualities or the removal of impurities.[3] *Saṁskāras* from Garbhādhāna to Cuḍākarman are meant to remove impu-

---

[1] जन्मना जायते शूद्रः संस्काराद्द्विज उच्यते ॥ Quoted in *Śabda-Kalpadrumakoṣa*.

[2] *Parāśara S.*, VIII, 19.

[3] संस्कारो हि नाम गुणाधानेन वा स्याद् दोषापनयनेन वा। Śaṅkara's *Vedānta-Sūtra-Bhāṣya*, I. 1. 4.

rities.[1] *Yajñopavīta* makes one fit for vedic studies and the performance of vedic rites.[2] *Vivāha-saṁskāra* enables one to lead life as a householder, to perform the religious rites, to enjoy the highest pleasure and finally to secure heaven for himself and his ancestors.[3] In short, one may say with the *Agni Purāṇa* that "by being purified by the purificatory rite of *saṁskāras* one attains emancipation, enjoyment and freedom from all diseases and lives like a god."[4]

Number of Samskaras

Earlier authorities regarded even *pākayajñas* as *saṁskāras* and thus brought their total to forty.[5] But later writers realized that *pākayajñas* were not very intimately connected with a man's life as purifying factors. During the period of Buddhist ascendancy some of them may have even been regarded as sinful. Therefore, in the period of *smārta* ascendancy, of which our period is a part, the Hindus reduced their number to sixteen or so, including only those rites which somehow sanctified one's life. Manu and Yājñavalkya, for instance, respectively speak of thirteen and twelve *saṁskāras* only and Vedavyāsa of sixteen.[6] The *saṁskāras*, Vyāsa enumerates, are *Garbhādhāna*, *Puṁsavana*, *Sīmanta*, *Jātakarma*, *Nāmakaraṇa*, *Niṣkramaṇa*, *Annaprāśana*, *Vapanakriyā* or *Muṇḍana*, *Karṇavedha*, *Vratādeśa* or *Upanayana*, *Vedārambha*, *Kesānta*, *Snānam*, *Vivāha* and *Tretāgni-saṅgraha*.

The *saṁskāras* from birth to the piercing of ears were to be performed without the recitation of *mantras*, in the case of girls. Marriage was their only rite to be solemnised with *mantras*.[7] The *Upanayana* of girls had fallen into abeyance even in the time of Manu. But the ruling of Hārīta that the women who devoted themselves to a religious vow were entitled to be girt with the sacred thread, seems to have been observed for

---

[1] *Yāj. S.*, Chap. I, v. 13 ; *MS*, Chap. II, vv. 27-28.
[2] *MS*, Chap. II, vv. 171-172 ; *Vas. S.*, Chap. II, v. 12, (*SS*, p. 189); *Śaṁ. S.*, Chap. I, v. 78 (*SS*, p. 374).
[3] *MS*, I, 112.
[4] *AP*, Chap. 32, v. 12.
[5] *Gautama S.*, VIII. 3.
[6] *Hindu Saṁskāras* by Dr. R. B. Pandey, pp. 34-5.
[7] Chap. I, vv. 14-16 (*SS*, p. 357).

sometime more or at least remembered.[1] Goddess Sarasvatī in the *Harṣacarita* and Mahāśveta in the *Kādambarī* are described as wearing a *yajñopavīta*.[2] Malayavatī in the *Tilaka-mañjarī* recites the *Gāyatrī-mantra*.[3] From a statement in the *Kādambarī* it may be inferred that a woman who observed an ascetic's vow with the hope of rejoining her husband generally girt herself with the sacrificial thread.[4]

A Few Details

Garbhādhāna or *Niṣekadharma* was the rite to ensure conception.[5] *Puṁsavana*, i.e., the rite to cause the birth of a male, was to be performed in the third month of pregnancy or before the embryo began to move.[6] *Sīmanta* which literally means the partaking of hair, took place in the sixth or the eighth month of pregnancy.[7] *Jātakarma* was the ceremony held at the birth of the child.[8] *Nāmakaraṇa* or the ceremony of naming the child was generally held on the eleventh day after birth.[9] The name chosen was to indicate auspiciousness, valour, wealth and inferiority in the case of the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, respectively.[10] *Niṣkramaṇa* or the ceremony to take the child out to see the Sun took place in the fourth month after birth; and the *Anna-prāśana* or the first feeding in the sixth month.[11] No exact time had been prescribed for *Cūḍākarma*. It was celebrated generally in the third year after birth, but could be celebrated also in the first or the fifth year according to the tradition of the family.[12] *Karṇavedha* of the ceremony of piercing ears was to follow the

---

[1] According to Hārīta the women entitled to *Upanayana* and the other vedic rites were known as Brahmavādinīs. See below No. 4.

[2] *HC*, I, p. 8; *Kād.*, p. 248.

[3] *TM*, p. 209.

[4] *Kād.*, p. 93.

[5] *LAS*, IV. 13 (*SS*, p. 154).

[6] *VS*, I. 17 (*SS*, p. 358).

[7] *LAS*, IV. 2 (*SS*, p. 154); *VS*, I. 18, (*SS*, p. 358).

[8] *VS*, I. 18 (*SS*, p. 358).

[9] ibid.

[10] *Śaṁkha S.*, II. 3 & 4 (*SS*, p. 374).

[11] *VS*, I. 18 (*SS*, p. 358); *TM*, p. 64.

[12] *MS*, II, v. 35; *LA*, IX. 1 (*SS*, p. 157); *VS*, I. 19 (*SS*, p. 358).

Cūḍākarma.[1] The next four rites of *Yajñopavīta*, *Vedārambha*, *Keśānta* and *Samāvarttana* were educational rites.[2] With the *Vivāha-saṁskāra* one entered into the *gṛhasthāśrama* or the order of the householder. With *Antyeṣṭhi* ended one's bodily career on earth.[3]

Of the sixteen *Saṁskāras*, the *Daśakumāracarita* mentions the *Sīmantonnayana*, *Jātakarma*, *Nāmakaraṇa*, *Caula*, *Upanayana*, and *Vivāha* showing thereby that these were the *saṁskāras* performed in general by the people.[4] Bāṇa's long descriptions of *janmotsava* and *vivāha* show their comparatively greater importance.

Rites and Customs Relating to Pregnancy and Birth

The husband gave a handsome present to the person bringing the good news of conception.[5] The room which the wife occupied was white-washed and rites were performed to keep out spirits. Auspicious lamps were burnt, jars full of water were placed on the side-doors and auspicious paintings were drawn on the walls of the room. Circles made with ashes round the bed were supposed to drive out all evil spirits from there. A white silver jar was placed near the expecting woman's bed, with a view to assuring her sound sleep.[6] A talisman formed of mystical diagrams, perhaps traced on birch leaves, and the magic rings of Kātyāyanī-śakti or some other goddess protected the bed. White mustard was scattered around it, green *nimba* leaves were tucked and *aśvattha* leaves tied with hair were hung here and there. As for the wife herself she was the centre of all attention. Old women versed in traditional rites waved round her head cylindrical bamboo boxes surrounded with red cloth in which lamps were kept burning, and vessels containing such

---

[1] ibid.

[2] See below.

[3] The śāstric details of the *saṁskāras* have been omitted, as they form the subject of elaborate studies like Dr. R. B. Pandey's *Hindu Saṁskāras* and Dr. P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmasāstra*. We have given more space to the popular rites connected with them.

[4] pp. 6, 12, 13 & 21.

[5] *Kādambarī*, p. 135.

[6] In case of poorer people, it could only be an earthen pitcher.

things as white mustard, unbroken pieces of curdr, white boiled rice and unwounded fish mixed with fresh flesh. Servants kept the pregnant woman in a joyful frame of mind; and the husband tried to satisfy all her longings.[1]

Illustrative of the ceremonies on the birth of a child is the account of Chandrāpīḍa's birth in the *Kādambarī*. On his birth the lying-in-chamber was tastefully decorated. Jars filled with water were placed on the porch. Figures of dolls (*bahuputrikās*) were drawn on its walls. Its floor was covered with the fresh leaves of many kinds. A pair of ploughs and pestles was placed near the door from which hung the entire skin of a tiger. Strings of white flowers intertwined with *dūrvā* sprouts were suspended across the gateway. On both sides of the door respectable matrons drew *swastika* figures with thinned cowdung. The *kauris* were placed on them. They looked pretty by being marked with the flowers of cotton dyed with various colours and on account of being mixed with the filaments of *kusumbha* flowers. Some women drew the figures of the goddess Ṣaṣṭhīdevī, who had her dress turned yellow by the sprinkling of turmeric. Some painted the figures of Kārttikeya riding on a peacock with his wings extended. Others drew the figures of the Sun and the Moon with their middle rendered red with *alaktaka*. They wove garlands of *kadamba* flowers, formed with little balls of clay, put on white-washed walls a row of trays bearing marks made with some sort of yellow powder, and traced other auspicious decorations. An old goat decked with garlands and scented articles stood near the door, and an old woman was placed on a heap of grain made near the head of the mother's bed. Scented herbs and powdered sloughs of serpents mixed with cow's ghee and *nimba* leaves were burnt continuously in the room. Water was sprinkled on all sides by Brāhmaṇas reciting vedic *mantras*. Nurses worshipped a cloth-board on which were drawn the figures of the Great Mother. Old women sang auspicious songs. Presents were made to Brāhmaṇas, oblations were offered to the deities, the *Viṣṇu-sahasranāma* was read without any break, auspicious lamps were burnt and the lying-in-chamber was guarded on all

---

[1] It is a summary of the description given in the *Kādambarī*, pp. 136-137.

sides by servants and relatives.[1]

On the sixth day a vigil was kept in which all relatives and friends participated perhaps fearing that the goddess Ṣaṣṭikā or Skandamātā would otherwise trouble the child. On the tenth day the child received a name.[2]

Till then the mother was considered impure and was not allowed to touch any household utensils. According to Alberuni the days of impurity incidental to the birth of a child were eight for the Brāhmaṇas, twelve for the Kṣatriyas, fifteen for the Vaiśyas, and thirty for the Śūdras. For the low caste people no term was fixed.[3]

Educational Rites

A child's education commenced and ended with the observance of certain rites, namely, *Upanayana*, *Vedārambha*, *Godāna* and *Samāvartana*.[4] Candrāpīḍa was admitted to the school when he was six years old and had undergone *Cuḍākarma* and other prescribed rites of childhood.[5] In the play *Uttararāmacarita* Lava and Kuśa are said to have received their education after the sacrament of tonsure.[6] They studied the Vedas after *Upanayana*.[7] The eighth, eleventh and twelfth were the proper years of the *Upanayana* for Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas respectively. In no case was the *Upanayana* of a Brāhmaṇa to be delayed beyond the sixteenth year, of a Kṣatriya beyond the twenty-second and of a Vaiśya beyond the twenty-fourth.[7] Bāṇa proudly speaks of his *saṁskāras* like *Upanayana*, etc. being performed at the proper time.[8]

---

[1] A summary based on Bāṇas' description of Vilāsavatī's *sūtikāgṛha* in the *Kādambari*, pp. 141-44. A similar description is to be seen also in *TM*, pp. 63-66.

[2] *Kād.*, p. 148; *TM*, pp. 63-64.

[3] Sachau, II, p. 157. Alberuni seems wrong in assigning the eight days of impurity to a Brāhmaṇa woman. According to *Parāśara S.*, III. 4, the number of days should be ten.

[4] In later digests we have references to a *Vidyarambha-saṁskāra* which probably did not exist in the period under survey. For details see Dr. A. S. Altekar's "Education In Ancient India", Appendix I.

[5] *Kādambarī*, pp. 148 & 153.

[6] *URC*, II, p. 83.

[7] *VS*, I. 20-21 (*SS*, p. 358).

[8] *HC*, II, p. 79.

Bāṇa's pen did not feel the need of describing Candrāpīḍa's *Upanayana* probably because by the seventh century A. D., the *Upanayana* had come to be regarded a ceremony more essential for a Brāhmaṇa than for a Kṣatriya, for whom the study of the Vedas was not compulsory.[1] A new *saṁskāra* of the *Vedārambha* as distinct from the *Upanayana* is mentioned by Vyāsa to distinguish the beginning of the Vedic studies by Brāhmaṇas. This may have been an innovation of our period of study. The *Keśānta* or *Godāna* was the next educational rite. The ceremony was characterized by the disciple's first shaving of the hair on the face, head and body and also accompanied by the gift of a cow to the teacher. After the consecration the disciple was required to live the life of *brahmacarya* for one year.[2] But during the period the *Keśānta* seems to have lost its educational significance and was performed as a kind of necessary formality just before the marriage.[3] In the *Uttararāmacarita*, Sītā while looking at the portrait gallery of Rāma's life points out the figures of "the four brothers duly prepared for the marriage ceremony, after having just performed the auspicious ceremony of *Godāna*."[4] With the *Samāvartana* the period of studentship came to a close. Bathing was the chief ceremony of the rite and it was, therefore, also known as *Snāna*. After this the disciple was entitled to be called a *snātaka* or *samāvṛtta* and to enter the *gṛhasthāśrama*.[5]

---

[1] Kṣatriyas, however, seem to have studied the Vedas as evidenced by the following verse of the *Mahāvīracarita*.

प्रकृत्या पुण्यलक्ष्मीकौ कावेतौ ज्ञायते त्विदम्
राजन्यदारकौ नूनं कृतोपनयनाविति।
द्वितीयस्य च वर्णस्य प्रथमस्याश्रमस्य च
अहो रम्यानयोर्भूतिर्वयसो नूतनस्य च॥ Act. I, p. 7.

[2] *Hindu Saṁskāras* by Dr. R. B. Pandey, pp. 246-7.

[3] *LAS*, XIV. 1. (*SS*, p. 162). *Keśānta* was probably confounded with the *Samāvartana* owing to the fact that shaving formed the common element in both the *saṁskāras* and this seems to be very reason of the change in the original significance of the *Keśānta*. Due to this confusion the *Keśānta* like *Samāvartana* was also supposed to mark the termination of the *brahmacarya*.

[4] Act I, p. 30.

[5] Bāṇa when he returned from his teacher's house called himself a *samāvṛtta*.—*HC*, II, p. 41.

Marriage

The marriage ceremony was not only a major *saṁskāra* as it is now but also one of the most important festive occasions. Bāṇa gives a graphic description of the preparations made a little before Rājyasrī's wedding. The account though detailed is so typical that we summarise it here.

According to the *Harṣacarita*, Prabhākaravardhana first of all performed the *vāgdāna*, i.e., the ceremony of giving his daughter by pouring out water on the hand of Grahavarman's chief messenger, who had come out to ask for the hand of Rājyaśrī.[1] When the day of marriage drew near, skilled artisans were invited from all quarters.[2] Leather-workers lustily beat their drums, being intoxicated with wine given free to them.[3] The carpenters measured, with the measuring tape, the marriage altar, and received presents of flowers, unguents and clothes.[4] Men, with brushes in their hands, held in a pail, and mounted on a ladder whitewashed palace walls.[5] Goldsmiths incessantly shaped and hammered gold.[6] Painters drew the auspicious pictures and clay workers made clay figures of fish, tortoises, crocodiles, coconuts, plantains, betel-nuts, etc.[7]

Pestles, mortars and stones used for grinding were ornamented with auspicious five-finger prints.[8] The image of the goddess Indrāṇī was set up in a quadrangle where the bards stayed.[9] From the early part of the marriage day, *avidhavā* (women whose husbands are alive) ladies engaged themselves in various occupations such as singing auspicious songs, eulogising the families of bride and bridegroom, dyeing neckstrings with their fingers smeared with many paints, decorating polished jars of raw clay material, reddening the thread of cotton for making the marriage bracelet, preparing unguents by cooking *balasna* into ghee and mixing it with *kumkuma* to give special beauty to the face and filling in with dyed cotton thread the interstices of the square boxes of

---

[1] See the chapter on "Marriage and the Position of Women", p. 14

[2] *HC*, IV, p. 142. [3] ibid.
[4] ibid. [5] ibid.
[6] ibid. [7] ibid.
[8] ibid. [9] ibid.

bamboo on which the bride and the bridegroom were to sit during the wedding hours.[1] The wives of the feudatories strung garlands of *kakhola*, cloves, *sphaṭika* and camphor.[2]

The king welcomed every visitor with the offerings of betel-leaves, scents and flowers.[3] Reservoirs were filled with perfumed water.[4] Even the king's feudatories girt up their loins and put in manual labour. The king's officers collected necessary materials from villages, and the *pratihāras* (doorkeepers) brought before the king the presents offered by the numerous chiefs, on the occasion.[5] The outer courtyard was full of horses and elephants suitable for bridal gifts.[6] In short the whole wedding house was put in readiness with different kinds of beautiful and auspicious decorations and looked as it were the essence of freedom from widowhood.[7] People rejoiced, bards sang and drums were beaten. Everyone bustled about.

The marriage performance took place at the auspicious hour appointed by the astrologers.[8] A little before it, the bridegroom set out in a procession to reach the bride's house, mounted on a tastefully decorated elephant.[9] The bridegroom's head looked beautiful with the flowery top-knot set amidst the blooming wreaths.[10] On his chest lay the *vaikaska* of flowers, worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm.[11] On his arrival at the gate, the bride's father, brothers and other relatives received him with great pomp and show, and put forth their best efforts to entertain the bridegroom and his party.[12] When the time fixed for marriage drew near, the bridegroom entered the *kautukagṛha*[3], saw there for the first time the bride with her face covered with a veil of red colour and performed a number of popular rites according to the instructions of the ladies of the house.[14] Coming out from there with the bride, properly dressed for the marriage, he reached the marriage altar. Near it sat their relatives and friends. Silver jars with *dūrvā* sprouts were put round the altar

---

[1] ibid., p. 143.
[2] ibid.
[3] ibid., p. 142.
[4] ibid.
[5] ibid.
[6] ibid.
[7] ibid., p. 144.
[8] ibid., p. 145.
[9] ibid.
[10] ibid.
[11] ibid. p. 145.
[12] ibid. p. 146.
[13] ibid.
[14] ibid. p. 147.

and a number of earthen figures with auspicious fruits in their hands surrounded it.[1] The auspicious marriage thread was worn by both the bride and the bridegroom. The priest kindled the holy flames and a knot was tied in the upper garments of the bride and the bridegroom. The nuptial ceremony began with the offerings of parched grains in the fire and ended with the bride's and the bridegroom's going round the fire.[2]

The Funeral Rite

The *Antyeṣṭhī* was the last of all the *saṁskāras*. Yuan Chwang noticed the three different ways of disposing of the dead. The first of these, he says, "is cremation, a pyre being made in which the body is consumed. The second is water-burial, the corpse being put into a stream to float and dissolve. The third is burial in the wilds, the body being cast away in the woods to feed wild animals."[3] Of these, cremation was the most recognised custom during the period under survey.[4] The corpse was put on a bier to be carried to the funeral ground. The relatives and friends of the dead, headed by the family priest, carried the bier in a procession, upon their shoulders. Until the corpse was consumed by the fire, all people sat there on one side.[5] If there was a river nearby, the cremation usually took place on its bank. Those who went to the funeral ground were considered impure and after their return from there purified themselves by bathing outside the town.[6] *Asthicayana* or the collection of bones followed the cremation. The bones collected were carried to some holy river, because it was the belief of the Hindus that "if the bones of one dead be consigned to the river, one does not go to a bad place; by raising waves, fretting the streams (i.e., splashing and driving the water back) the lost soul is saved."[7]

---

[1] ibid.

[2] For similar descriptions see also the *Samrāiccakahā*, Chap. II, pp. 98-101; *Mālatīmādhava*, Act VI, and the *Karpūramañjarī*, Act IV.

[3] Watters, I, p. 174.

[4] Sachau, II, p. 169.

[5] Takakusu, p. 81; *HC*, V, pp. 171-2.

[6] Watters, I, p. 175.

[7] Watters, I, p. 319. All these details are corroborated by the example of Prabhākaravardhana's *Antyeṣṭhī-saṁskāra* described in the *HC*, Chap. V.

The bodies of the children who were below three years were not burnt.[1] During the days of impurity incidental to the death, no one went to take food in the family afflicted by death but after the conventional purification life went on as before.[2]

At the obsequies of a departed one the relatives wailed and wept, rending their clothes and tearing out their hair, striking their brows and beating their breasts, but there was no special mourning dress.[3] Clothes of the mourners, however, remained unwashed and hair was not shaved.[4] The Buddhist monks prepared a shrine in their rooms and spread out a coloured cloth to show that they were mourning. Some kept their hair unshaven and carried a mourning stick or slept on a straw mat.[5] These may have been the customs of the people in general also.[6] To observe a seven days' fast was also one of the ways of mourning among the Buddhist monks and some times the period of mourning extended even up to three years.[7] In the case of a ruler and a *śrotriya* the period of ceremonial uncleanliness, however, was never very long.[8]

The survivor owed certain duties towards the deceased. For the first ten or twelve days after death, food and water was due to him because he was regarded as still living in a sense. The *śrāddha* was performed once a month (on the day of death) during the whole of the first year after death. The half-yearly *śrāddha* was generally richer and more liberal than the usual monthly one. With the *piṇḍadāna* or the offering of the ball of meal on the last day of the year the heir's duties towards the dead were regarded

---

[1] Sachau, II, p. 170.
[2] Watters, I, p. 175.
[3] ibid., p. 174.
[4] Bhaṇḍi when he returned to Harṣa after Rājyavardhana's death had put on dirty clothes and his unshaved beard touched his chest.—*HC*, VII, p. 226.
[5] Takakusu, p. 81.
[6] ibid.
[7] ibid.
[8] *MS*, V, pp. 80-81. Yuan Chwang had also recorded that when a ruler died the first thing was to enthrone his successor, so that he might preside at the religious services of the funeral and determine precedence.—Watter, I, p. 175.

as practically fulfilled. Then the regular *śrāddha* offerings to him were held in the *pitṛpakṣa* every year.[1]

FESTIVALS

Besides, the social religious ceremonies described above, there were many occasions of seasonal festivities. In *Ratnāvali* Harṣa gives an extremely interesting description of Madanotsava[2], a spring festival, celebrated in the month of Caitra, on the full-moon day.[3] In some ways, the *utsava* was almost like our present Holī festival. Men and women marched through the streets in a jubilant mood, clapping their hands, singing, dancing and playing on the tabor.[4] The ground all round was dyed yellow with saffron powder strewn by the people on each other.[5] So great indeed was its quantity that the water incessantly discharged through the fountains, getting mixed with it, turned it into a big mass of red paste.[6] People also threw water on each other with their syringes.[7] Female revellers would in the enjoyment of the sport fail to take care even of their costly ornaments[8], and getting drunk, sometimes even embraced men.[9] Wine was drunk freely, especially by the servant class.[10] At sunset, people repaired to gardens and worshipped Madana or Cupid with flowers, sandal, etc.[11]

---

[1] *LAS*, Chap. XX (*SS*, pp. 163-172); *HC*, VI, p. 175; Sachau, II, p. 165. For the ritualistic details see Dr. R. B. Pandey's book already mentioned.

[2] The Madanotsava was also known as Kāmotsava or Vasantotsava and is mentioned by Kālidāsa, Daṇḍin, Māgha, Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti, Rājaśekhara and Siddharṣi Sūri.

[3] Act I, v. 16; Alberuni also states that "on the full moon day of Caitra is a festival called Bahand (Vasant), a festival for the women when they put on their ornaments and demand presents from their husbands."—Sachau, II, p. 179.

[4] Act I, p. 10

[5] ibid., v. 11.

[6] ibid., v. 12.

[7] ibid., v. 13.

[8] ibid., v. 17.

[9] ibid., p. 10.

[10] Act I, p. 22. See also the author's article on Harṣa's plays, op. cit.

[11] Act I, pp. 16, 26. See also the author's article on Harṣa's plays, op. cit.

The other festivals which find mention in Harṣa's plays are Kaumudīmahotsava[1] and Dīpapratipadotsava[2], the details of which though absent from Harṣa's plays, can easily be collected from purāṇic literature. The Kaumudīmahotsava fell on the full-moon day in the month of Āśvina.[3] It was a real *kaumudī* day—a day on which the whole world rejoiced, as it were. Everything and everyone in the city wore a festive appearance. The houses were cleaned and whitewashed. Flags were flown over markets, streets and buildings. Dressed in their best attires and wearing fragrant garlands, men and women went about visiting one another. Brāhmaṇas were feasted. Vedic hymns were recited. *Balis* were offered. At night, lamps were lit in the streets and the houses. Youthful couples danced, laughed, sang and had a round of the city. There was music everywhere, instrumental as well as vocal.[4]

The religious part of the festival included the worship of one's tutelary deity as well as Lakṣmī. The Śaivas worshipped Mahādeva offering him various articles, like flowers, scent, bedding, lamps of various sizes and shapes, fruits, meat cooked as well as raw, gold and gems.[5] The followers of Skanda must have similarly worshipped Skanda, the Kaumudī-Pūrṇima being his birth-day.[6]

According to the *Liṅgā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhaviṣyottara Pūrāṇas*, the deities to be worshipped on this day were Lakṣmī and Indra seated on Airāvata, though worship at the same time was offered also to other gods and *pitṛs* (manes) with coconuts and parched rice.[7] Most people gambled, some played at dice, others at

---

[1] *Priyadarśikā*, Act III, p. 70.
[2] *Nāgānanda*, Act IV, p. 138.
[3] *Liṅga Purāṇa* as quoted in the *Kālasāra*, Vol. I, p. 176; *AP*, Chap. 207; *Varāha Purāṇa* as quoted in Hemādri's *Kālanirṇaya*, Chap. XVII.
[4] *Skanda Purāṇa* as quoted in *Vīramitrodaya*, Vol. VI, p. 419.
[5] अस्याः कुमारपौर्णमासीति संज्ञान्तरं तत्र कुमारोत्पत्तेः।—*Kālasāra*, Vol. I, p. 177.
[6] *Liṅga*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇas*, as quoted in the *Kālasāra*, Vol. I, pp. 176-177.
[7] *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa*, as quoted in *Kālasāra*, Vol. I, p. 176.

chess and similar indoor games. People kept themselvesa wake in the night because the general belief was that the goddess Lakṣmī visited every house at night on this particular occasion and left one who was found asleep.[1]

The Dīpapratipadotsava is obviously identical with Diwālī. Alberuni puts the celebration of the festival on the first or the new-moon day of Kārttika when the Sun reached the zodiacal sign Libra. Then people bathed, dressed festively, made presents to one another of betel-leaves and areca-nuts, rode to the temple to give alms and played merrily with one another till noon. At night they lighted a great number of lamps.[2] The *Nāgānanda* mentions the present of gifts to the bride and the bridegroom on this occasion.[3]

According to the *Skanda Purāṇa* and Alberuni, the day was also called the Balirājya. Alberuni states that the cause of this festival was that Lakṣmī, the wife of Vāsudeva, once a year, on this day, liberated Bali, the son of Virocana, who was a prisoner in the seventh world and allowed him to go out in the world.[4] According to the *Skanda Purāṇa*, people were to worship Bali at night. They were to draw his image on the ground with various colours and worship it duly with flowers and fruits. They were also to give gifts in honour of Bali and light lamps.[5]

In Rājaśekhara's works we meet with the descriptions of four other great festivals, Āndolantṛtīyā, Vaṭasāvitrīvrata, Mahānavamī and Dīpamālikā. The Āndolantṛtīyā which fell on the third day of the bright half of Caitra was primarily a women's festival. On this day women worshipped Pārvatī, observed a

---

[1] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, as quoted in the *Kālasāra*, Vol. I, p. 176. The *Pūrṇimā* day of Āśvina is still a festival day in the Northern India. It is called the Śaradpūrṇimā day. All unwidowed ladies observe a fast throughout the day and break it after giving *arghya* (water) to the moon in the night. A present of sweet meats, etc. (*bāyanā*) is given to some of the elder relations. It is a duty in which they never fail.

[2] Sachau, II, p. 182. It is the day following the Diwālī of our time and is celebrated as a part of this national festival.

[3] *Nāgānanda*, Act IV, p. 138.

[4] Sachau, II, p. 182.

[5] *Skanda Purāṇa* as quoted in the *Śri Gaṅgasinha Kalpadruma*, p. 232.

fast and kept a vigil at night. On the other day they began the swinging ceremony which seems to have lasted for more than a day.[1] Generally, during the whole of this month they kept themselves busy in merry-making, singing, dancing, swinging, celebrating the deeds of Gaurī and worshipping Kāmadeva.[2] According to the *Agni* and *Devi* purāṇas, on this day, Gaurī was to be worshipped along with her spouse Śaṅkara.[3] In some parts of Northern India, particularly Rajasthan, the day is now celebrated as the Gaṅgauravratam.

The Vaṭasāvitrīvrata was a popular festival of women celebrated on the full moon day of Jyeṣṭha. On this day women sang and danced. They threw water on each other with cups and syringes. In the *Karpūramañjarī* we find some trying to please the people by parading as mountaineers ; some wearing the masks of night-wandering ogresses enacting a cemetery scene; and some setting the people laughing by wearing dark dresses and reciting, bowing and laughing.[4] The fast was kept in honour of goddess Sāvitrī and the day was known as Vaṭasāvitrī because they bathed and watered a banyan (*vaṭa*) tree.[5] According to the *Āditya Purāṇa*, one gained the fruits of *Aśvamedha* sacrifice by making gifts of sesamum on the *Jyeṣṭhapūrṇimā* day.[6]

The two other festivals, Mahānavamī and Dīpamālikā, were chiefly celebrated by the Kṣatriyas. The former fell on the ninth of the bright half of Āśvina. Weapons of war were worshipped and *nīrājana* (moving round a lighted lamp) ceremony was performed.[7] According to Alberuni "on the eighth Aśvayuja when the moon stands in the nineteenth station, *Mūla*, begins the sucking of the sugar cane. It is a festival day holy to Mahā-Navamī, the sister of Mahādeva, when they offer the first fruits of sugar and all other things to her image which is called Bhagavatī. They

---

[1] We are told that Karpūramañjarī was to be put in the swing in front of the image of Pārvatī on the fourth day of the swing festival.—Act II.

[2] *KM*, p. 105.

[3] *AP*, Chap. 178, p. 360 ; *Devī Purāṇa* quoted in the *GKD*, p. 87.

[4] *Karpūramañjarī*, IV. 9 & 10-19.

[5] *GKD*, p. 115.

[6] *Āditya Purāṇa* quoted in *GKD*, p. 115.

[7] *KM*, p. 101.

give much alms before it and kill kids. He who does not possess anything to offer, stands upright by the side of the idol, without even sitting down and will some time pounce upon whomsoever he meets and kill him."[1] The details thus given are obviously wrong in some respects. Bhagavatī is never regarded as a sister of Mahādeva ; nor was the *navamī*-day festival held on the eighth day. There is nothing to substantiate also his statement that one who had nothing to offer pounced on anyone he met and killed him.

On the Dīpamālikā day, i.e., the fifteenth day of Kārttika the Kṣatriya kings indulged in various sports, pastimes and merry making and made ready for (*vijaya*) *yātrā*.[2] People in general burnt lamps giving the day its name Dīpāvali.[3] The king issued orders for the decoration of the town. Houses were whitewashed and lamps were burnt in every house, street and market-place. It was a gay day for the people. They walked about, danced, sang, drank liquor and gambled. At midnight, the king had a round of the decorated town and burnt lamps with his own hands. Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth, was worshipped.[4] Thus was the day celebrated by orthodox Hindus[5] and the Jains too joined in the celebrations because it was the *nirvāṇa* day of Mahāvīra-svāmī.[6]

Alberuni refers to a few other popular festivals. The eleventh day of the month of Caitra was a day of festivity dedicated to Vāsudeva. His image was swung to and fro.[7] On the third day of Vaiśākha, women worshipped Gaurī, dressed themselves gaily, fasted and swang. The day was called the Gaurītṛtīya.[8]

---

[1] Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 179-80.

[2] दीपालिकायां विविधा विलासा यात्रोन्मुखैरत्र नृपैर्विधेया: ॥ —*KM*, p. 101.

[3] *GKD*, p. 231.

[5] *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* as quoted in *GKD*, p. 230. A similar festival is also described in the *NMP* (A. D. 500-800) vv. 505-15 and the *YTC* (pp. 597-9) and so it may be regarded as one of the most popular festivals celebrated in the whole of India.

[5] For the purāṇic references to the Dīpamālikā day see *Padma-purāṇa*, *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, Chap. 122 ; *Vāmana Purāṇa*, Chap. 92 ; *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa-Kārttikamāsamāhātmya*, Chap. 9 ff.

[6] *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, Canto. 66, vv. 15-17, 27.

[7] Sachau, II, p. 178.

[8] ibid., p. 179.

The twenty-third day of Aśvayuja was the Ahoi day.[1]

Other Festive Occasions

Some of the major *saṁskāras* were also occasions of festivities. The birth of a child was celebrated with all sorts of merry-making and enjoyment. On the birth of a prince Brāhmaṇas chanted the vedic hymns[2]; old and young, masters and servants all rejoiced equally, singing, dancing, playing, eating and drinking as they pleased.[3] On that day none of the subjects was barred from entering the harem.[4] *Sāmantas'* wives visited the royal household.[5] Courtesans danced to the accompaniment of music, instrumental as well as vocal[6] and so did every one without any restriction of sex, class and caste.[7] Ornaments, clothes and money were freely distributed; people were feasted; the city was decorated; perfumes were scattered all round and lamps burnt. Gods were worshipped, prisoners released and fines and punishments remitted.[8]

All these celebrations were held on a more elaborate scale on the occasion of a marriage. Eating, drinking, singing, dancing, receiving visitors, offering of presents, distribution of perfumes and betel leaves were the most common items of this celebration.

Another grand festive occasion was the anointment ceremony of a prince. On the auspicious day appointed for the purpose, the king himself besprinkled the prince with water from the *maṅgalakalaśa* which contained waters of all *tīrthas*, rivers and oceans and was mixed with types of prescribed medicines, fruits, earths and jewels. Then followed besprinkling by ministers and feudatories.[9] The queen and all her female associates

---

[1] ibid., p. 180. This is according to the *amānta* calculation. According to the *Pūrṇimānta* calculation the Ahoi day falls on the 8th day of dark Kārttika. It is a fast day still popular among the North Indian ladies. Its observance is believed to ensure the longevity of their children.

[2] *HC*, IV, p. 129.

[3] ibid.

[4] ibid.

[5] ibid., p. 130.

[6] ibid., pp. 131-33.

[7] ibid., p. 130.

[8] ibid., p. 129; *UBPK*, p. 157 (Jacobi's edition).

[9] *Kād.*, p. 209.

applied unguents and perfumes and offered him clothes and ornaments.[1] After that the prince was enthroned. People rejoiced everywhere.[2]

Dīkṣotsava or the ceremony of initiation was the greatest occasion of festivity among Jainas. Siddharṣi Sūri describes many such occasions. On the occasion of the initiation of Manīṣī the floor of the Jaina's temple is said to have been plastered with musk, saffron and sandal paste. Its gold pillars were decorated with jewels. Flowers of different hues were scattered on its pavement. The image of Jinadeva was installed on a high platform.[3] Manīṣī, whose body was adorned with auspicious costumes and ornaments, lifted up a pitcher of sacred water. So did the king. Various musical instruments were sounded, *stotras* were recited, dances began, the god was worshipped and gifts were made to monks and others.[4] Manīṣī then mounted a bedecked elephant, went round the city and reached the royal palace where he saw dances, and heard songs. The queens bathed him. He put on white clothes, took the daintiest of food, chewed betel leaves, and adorned himself with flower garlands.[5] The *dīkṣā* celebration began thereafter and went on for eight days. On the eighth day Manīṣī was first seated on an elephant and then in a chariot driven by the king himself. The bards sang his panegyrics. Drums were beaten. People danced. Thus Manīṣī reached the *ācārya* where he began the life of a Jaina ascetic.[6] The account as we find here may have its exaggerations. But it shows at least how a *dīkṣā* was preceded by festivities in which the person proposed to be initiated had his last taste of worldly grandeur. He left these things behind to have a happiness which, according to Jaina religion, was much more lasting than the one which a person could have by the use of worldy things. The initiate left these behind voluntarily never to touch them again.

The *Upavasatha* day, of which we have already said something, was a day of Buddhist festivity. The man who took upon himself the *Upavasatha*-vow invited the Buddhist priests to a

---

[1] ibid., p. 210.
[3] ibid., p. 211.
[3] *UBPK*, Bombay edition, III, pp. 217 ff.
[4] ibid., pp. 218ff.
[5] ibid., pp. 219ff.
[6] ibid., pp. 220-229.

feast on the *Upavasatha*-day.[1] At the proper time of meal the host cleaned his hands and feet and made an offering to saints (images of Arhats) at the upper end of the row of the invited priests. Then he served food before the guests. At the lowest end of the row an offering of food was made to the mother Hārīta.[2] At the same time the great deity Mahākāla, whose image was carved in wood at the side of a pillar in the kitchen or before the porch in all the great monasteries in India, was offered light and all kinds of prepared food. The priests then ate with the permission of the head-priest.[3]

Sometimes the ceremony differed a little. If the host set up holy images beforehand, all the guests had to sit with folded hands before the images and each had to meditate upon the objects of worship. Sometimes the host selected one priest to go before the image and worship and praise the Buddha, in a loud voice. The host with a heart full of faith and respect offered lights, scattered flowers, burnt incense and anointed the priest's feet. Songs and music followed, if the host so liked.[4] The ceremony, I-tsing says, was observed on a scale so grand that all the trays and plates were full of the cakes and rice remaining over; and melted butter and cream could be partaken to any extent.[5]

Besides the above there must have been many other festive occasions also. Victory, installation of a new image or of a new *guru*, victory even in a reigious discussion and so on could lead to festivities. But the general character of celebration was in some ways the same—plenty of dancing, singing, eating and sometimes even drinking, whether it was the palace of the prince or the hut of a poor man. And the general character of the ceremonies too did not differ from one class to another for everyone believed in their efficacy, though of course they were on a more elaborate and expensive scale in the case of the rich than that of the poor. Man, by instinct, enjoys self-abandon, and here he had it, without going outside the ambit of religion.

---

[1] Takakusu, p. 36.
[2] ibid., p. 37.
[3] ibid., p. 38.
[4] ibid., p. 42.
[5] ibid., p. 40.

CHAPTER NINE

TOILET, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

TOILET

PERSONAL CLEANLINESS has from times immemorial been a characteristic of our cultured classes. Early in the morning people cleaned their teeth with tooth-sticks which according to Varāhamihira[1] could be made from thousands of varieties of creepers, plants, shrubs and trees, each with its different effect, good or bad.[2] I-tsing noticed that the practice of chewing tooth-sticks was common among people of all parts of India, the tender twigs of *burr* being considered the best of all for this purpose. Children started chewing them with the beginning of their third year.[3] *Abhyaṇga* (anointing the body with oil) which generally preceded bathing, was regarded as a remover of fatigue. It gave strength and beauty to the body and toned it. *Udvartana* (a paste for smearing the body with) added to the beauty of the body and reduced fat. Bathing according to season, with hot or cold water, whichever was agreeable, was believed to remove itch and fatigue and increase the duration of one's life[4], and normally, preceded the day-meal. I-tsing marked the abundance of bathing ponds everywhere in India. "If we go but one *yojana*, we see twenty or thirty bathing places, and they vary in size, some being one *mou* (or about 733½ yards) others five *mou*."[5] Near Nālandā monastery there were more than ten great ponds and the monks residing there were, every morning, reminded of the bathing hour by the ringing of a bell.[6] The *Kādambarī* states that King Śūdraka took leave of his courtiers on being reminded of the bathing hour by the beating of a drum at the mid-day hour.[7]

---

[1] *BS*, 85. I.

[2] Specially recommended were the sticks prepared from the woods of *karañja*, *khādira*, *kadamba*, *kuraba*, *saptaparṇa*, *ṭṛśniparṇi*, *jāmbū*, *nimba*, *apāmārga*, *vilba*, *arka* & *udamvara*.—*Hārīta S.*, IV. 6-8.

[3] Takakusu, pp. 34-35.

[4] *YTC*, Chap. III, 323.

[5] Takakusu, p. 108.

[6] ibid.

[7] p. 28.

Bāṇa gives an excellent account of a ruler's bathing, which may be taken as a model of the way in which most rich people and chiefs must have bathed in the seventh century. The bathing place was covered with a white canopy. Bards sat there in small groups. A bath filled with perfumed water was put in the midst. A bathing seat of crystal was placed near it and pitchers, full of fragrant water, were kept nearby. Female-attendants applied fragrant *āmalkī* (a kind of myrobalan) powder to the king's head and then poured water mixed with sandal and saffron, over his head, with emerald jars, silver pitchers and leafy cups. Bards sang panegyrics as he bathed.[1]

Probably the toilet became a little more elaborate later on. According to the *Snānabhoga* section of the *Mānasollāsa* the king's body was first of all anointed with fragrant oil. It was then softly massaged by wrestlers well-versed in the art of massaging. Anointment made of a mixture of many fragrant ingredients like *kuṣṭha*, etc. was applied to the body to remove its dust. A special preparation of *khalī* removed grease from the skin. Young ladies, appointed for the royal bath, poured over his head scented water of different *tīrthas*, with gold jars. Sweet-smelling powder of *āmalkī* was rubbed into the hair, sometime turmeric also being added to it. Then hair was rinsed with hot water and the body was rubbed dry with a towel.[2]

Bathing was followed by *aṅgarāga*, i.e., the application of cosmetics. Śūdraka smeared his body with sandal paste mixed with the sweet-smelling perfumes of musk and camphor.[3] Candrāpīḍa, the hero of the *Kādambarī*, entered the *aṅgarāgasālā*, for his toilet after bath.[4] In case of grief no cosmetics were used.[5]

Women were especially fond of cosmetics and perfumes. Various kinds of unguents were prepared from saffron, musk and sandal. *Kumkuma* (saffron) and *lodhra* (*symplocoracemoze*) powders were used for complexion, and *alaktaka*, the red resin of trees,

---

[1] ibid., p. 31.
[2] p. 81. vv. 930-953, GOS, Vol. LXXXIV.
[3] *Kādambarī*, p. 33.
[4] ibid., p. 191.
[5] Harṣa who was offered cosmetics refused them as he was in grief, caused by his father's illness.—*HC*, Chap. V, p. 160.

was used for dyeing the lips, nails and soles of the feet.[1] They marked their forehead in the middle with a point of *gorocana* or *sindoor*, the absence of which was regarded as a sign of widowhood.[2] Their breasts appeared picturesque with the application of the liquid prepared from the leaves of the black-aloe wood (*kṛṣṇāgarupatra*).[3] They adorned their eyes with collyrium[4], combed their hair, fastened the hair-knot in different styles on the back, and decked the hair profusely with flowers.[5] Betel leaves were chewed and different kinds of scents used.[6]

Cosmetics added also to sexual appeal. This is why the *gandhayuktiśāstra* is one of the principal subjects dealt with in the erotic works like the *Kāmasūtra*[7] (5th cen.) and the *Nāgarasarvasvasaṁgraha* (10th cen.).[8] Right use of cosmetics was one of the sixty-four *kalās* to be learnt by the prostitutes, to win the hearts of their paramours.[9] *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā* satirically speaks of old men, trying to look younger by the use of various cosmetics such as the application of hair dye, anointment of body with perfumed oil, concealment of wrinkles on cheeks and so on.[10]

The importance of cosmetics for cooling and soothing purposes was also realised. There are plenty of references in our *kāvyas*, to the love-stricken heroines, applying sandal paste mixed with saffron, musk, camphor, etc. to cool down the burning caused by their separation from their lovers.

A number of perfumed oils were known and were in common use, even before the beginning of our period. Varāhamihira gives the methods of preparing most of them. The scents he

---

[1] *SV*, IX. 46; VII. 63; VII. 6; XVI. 84; *Kādambarī*, pp. 22, 121, 122, 360. See also the author's paper on Bāṇa.

[2] *HC*, IV, p. 143.

[3] *Kādambarī*, p. 122.

[4] *Amaruśataka*, 60 (*KMS*, XVIII).

[5] *SV*, V. 19; *Kādambarī*, p. 122.

[6] *SV*, VIII. 70; X.30.

[7] H. C. Chakaladhara, *Social Life in Ancient India*, p. 156 (1929 edition.)

[8] Chap. IV. Published by Śri Venkatesvara Agency, Cal. 1929. The subject of cosmetics is also dealt with in the *AP* in the context of king's duties in the harem.—*AP*, chap. 224.

[9] *DKC*, p. 66.

[10] p. 545 (Jacobi's Ed.).

discusses in detail are those of *bakula*, lotus, *campaka*, jasmine, *kopacchad* or anger-lid and the *sarvatobhadra*, i. e., good for all purposes. Prescriptions for preparing toilet powder, scented hair-water (*śirahsnānam*), the perfumes for bathing, perfumed tooth-sticks and the perfumes for mouth are also given in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.[1]

Details of *vilepanas* can be had from the *Mānasollāsa*. The application of unguents, according to it, was needed to provide softness, cleanliness and fairness to the skin.[2] A particular *vilepana* known as *sāndhya* was applied to the armpits, the earjoints and the navel to remove the bad smell of perspiration.[3] *Vilepanas* of different kinds were prescribed during different seasons. In spring an unguent prepared from a mixture of sandal, aloe-wood, camphor, musk, saffron, *granthiparṇa*, *jātiphala*, etc. was considered the best.[4] Cold unguents chiefly perfumed with sandal and musk were good for summer and rainy seasons respectively.[5] The *vilepana* in autumn consisted of fragrant sandal mixed with *padma-kesara*.[6] For winter *kumkuma* mixed with new saffron (*nava-kesara*), provided the best unguent.[7] For the cold seasons of *hemanta* and *śiśira*, there was strongly perfumed scent called *pulliṅga*.[8] The colour of unguents was to vary in accordance with the colour of dress.[9]

That season played an important part in the matters of toilet and dress can be seen also from Rājaśekhara's works. In winter women dyed their lips with bees-wax, applied a saffron unguent to their faces and perfumed their hair with fragrant oils.[10] In summer they generally smeared their breasts with sandal paste

---

[1] Chap. LXXVII.
[2] p. 85, v. 980.
[3] ibid., vv. 983-4.
[4] ibid., vv. 981-3.
[5] ibid., vv. 988, 992.
[6] ibid., vv. 1004, 1005.
[7] ibid., vv. 1005 ff.
[8] ibid., vv. 1003 ff.
[9] ibid., v. 1006.
The tests of saffron and musk, the chief ingredients needed for the preparation of almost every kind of *vilepana* and perfume, are also laid down in the same chapter of *Mānasollāsa*, vv. 993.ff.
[10] *Karpūramañjarī*, Act I, v. 13; *KM*, p. 102.

mixed with camphor and wore moistened clothes.[1] In spring they put on fine clothes and adorned with *sindūra*, the parting line of the hair on the head.[2]

DRESS

The character of Indian's dress remained almost the same throughout the period of early Indian History, except for a few changes introduced by Kuṣāṇas and other foreign immigrants. Strabo, the Greek chronicler, described Indians as wearing "loose garments of white linen and muslin, dresses worked with gold and precious stones and flowered robes".[3] The use of white linen clothes and flowered and variegated garments is evident also from Yuan Chwang's and Bāṇa's accounts. Indians loved colours in garments, bringing in changes according to different seasons and to suit the wearer's complexion. In spring one was advised to put on thin and charming clothes made of silk or cotton. In summer simple white colour was preferred to all; most probably because it kept the body cool. In the rainy season garments, coloured red, pink, reddish or darkened, and in autumn clothes of safflower colour were deemed most suitable. In cold season woollen garments of various kinds were to be used.[4] Thus early Indians treated costumes not only as a necessity but also as a means of beautifying the wearer's body. Costlier types obviously were luxurious, and only the rich could afford them.

Indian art of spinning and weaving had reached a high degree of perfection during the period under survey. Certain varieties of Indian cloth, both silk and cotton, are named by our sources. Of these some are said to have been so thin and fine that only the breath of a person made it known on the wearer's body[5]; some could be determined on the body only by touch[6] and not by vision and some were light and thin like a snake's slough.[7] The softness of certain varieties could be compared only with the inner

---

[1] *Karpūramañjarī* Act IV, vv. 5-7.
[2] *KM*, XVIII, p. 105.
[3] *Ancient India as described in classical literature*, p. 59.
[4] *Mānasollāsa*, p. 90, vv. 1034-39.
[5] *HC*, Chap. IV, p. 143; *Kādambarī*, p. 361.
[6] *HC*, Chap. IV, p. 143.
[7] ibid., I, p. 31; *Kād.*, pp. 33, 361.

part of a plantain tree[1] or a *bhūrja-patra*.[2] According to the Arab traveller Sulaiman, the kingdom of Ruhmi (identified with the Pāla kingdom) produced such a fine and delicate material that a dress made of it could be passed through a signet-ring. It was made of cotton and he had himself seen a piece of it.[3]

Clothing Varieties

Of the clothing varieties Bāṇa mentions many, such as *kṣauma*, *bādara*, *dukūla*, *lālātantuja*, *netra*, *aṁśuka*[4], *jātipaṭṭa*, *citrapaṭṭa*[5] and *stavaraka*.[6] The characteristics of some of these can be determined by looking into the *Amarakośa* and its two well-known commentaries, the one by Kṣīrasvāmin and the other by Swāmī Sarvānanda, and the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* of Halāyudha.[7] Of the above kinds *bādara* was undoubtedly made of *karpāsa*, i.e., cotton.[8] But what is *kṣauma*? Dr. V. S. Agrawala once suggested that *kṣauma* was an old Chinese name of a cloth prepared from fibres of a particular Chinese grass, much used in China in the days of T'ang dynasty, contemporary to Bāṇa; and was known in the eastern parts (Bengal-Assam) of India as *kañkhura*.[9] But such a conclusion would be against all early testimonies on the subject. On the basis of Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary it is certain that *kṣauma* was a variety of cloth prepared from *kṣumā* or linseed flax.[10] Sarvānanda also explicitly states that *Kṣauma* was a variety of cloth made of *atsī* or linseed, and further adds that *kṣauma* was known as *malla* in the popular language,[11] i. e., probably the

---

[1] *HC*. Chap. VII, p. 208, Chap. IV, p. 143.
[2] ibid., Chap. VII, p. 217.
[3] *ED*, I, p. 5.
[4] *HC*, Chap. IV, p. 143; *Kṣauma* finds mention also in the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa (p. 161) and the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla (pp. 51, 122).
[5] *HC*, Chap. VII, p. 217. [6] *HC*, Chap. IV, p. 143.
[7] Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary published by Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1941; Sarvānanda's commentary, published in Trivendram Sanskrit Series; *Abhidhānaratnamālā* published by Sarasvati Bhavana, Vārāṇasī.
[8] *AK*, II, viii; *ARM*, *II*, 550.
[9] *HCSA* p. 76.
[10] क्षुमाया: विकार: क्षौमम्—op. cit., p. 157.
[11] क्षोमोद्भवं मल्लइति ख्याते।—*Ṭikā Sarvasva* on *AK*, II, *Manuṣyavarga*, 113 (p. 371, part II).

malamala for which Bengal has always been famous. In the 7th century Kāmarūpa was the home of this *kṣauma* or *malla*. Bhāskaravarman, the king of Assam, presented to Harṣa many long pieces of *kṣauma* variety, which were kept rolled in multicoloured cane baskets; and the peculiarity of it was that it could withstand washing and cleaning.[1] Yuan Chwang also calls *kṣauma* a kind of linen. Had it been of the Chinese grass *kaṅkhur*, Yuan Chwang would have noted this fact.[2] As *kṣauma* fibre was extracted from the bark of *kṣumā* or *atasī*, it was also known as *vālka* or *valkala*.[3] Bāṇa speaks of *valkala* as being used for *uttarīyas* and bed-sheets.[4] In the *Harṣacarita*, Sāvitrī is represented as wearing the *valkala* of *kalpadruma*.[5]

As regards *dukūla*, *Amarakośa* and its commentaries treat it as identical with *kṣauma* and so naturally with *valka*.[6] The *Ācārāṅga* commentary describes *dukūla* as a special kind of cotton cloth peculiar to Bengal.[7] In the *Niśīthi* commentary, on the other hand, *dukūla* is regarded as made of bark which after being soaked in water was beaten in a mortar to separate the fibres. In due course these were turned into twines to be spun later on.[8] *Dukūla* thus prepared may be treated as identical with *kṣauma* which is generally given as its synonym in the Sanskrit dictionaries. It was used for a variety of purposes, for making the *uttarīyas*, *adhovastras*, *sārees*, bed-sheets and other similar things.[9] Puṇḍravardhana (a part of Bengal) was especially famous for the manufacturing of *dukūla*.[10]

---

[1] *HC*, Chap. VII, p. 217. See also *TM*, p. 51.

[2] Watters, Vol. I, p. 148. Further testimony against *kṣauma* being prepared is now provided by Dr. Agrawala himself in *Maru Bhāratī*.

[3] *AK*, II, v. 111.

[4] *HC*, I, p. 34; IV, 143, *Kād.*, pp. 311, 323.

[5] *HC*, I, p. 10. [6] *ARM*, II, 549; Kṣīrasvāmin, p. 157.

[7] "गौड विषय विशिष्ट कार्पासिकं"—2, 5, 13 quoted in the *BVB*, p. 147.

[8] "दुगुल्लो रुक्खो तस्स वागो घेत्तुं उदूखले कुट्टइज्जाति पाणिएण ताव जाव भूसी भूतो ताहे कच्चाति दुगुल्लो"।—Quoted in *BVB*, p. 147.

[9] *HC*, I, p. 34; V, 172; *Kād.*, pp. 85, 95, 138, 174.

[10] *HC*, Chap. III, p. 85. Dr. V. S. Agrawala thinks that it was perhaps known as *dukūla* as it was available in the form of long pieces with two borders.—*HCSA*, p. 77.

On the authority of Kṣīrasvāmin it can safely be concluded that *lālātantuja* was a kind of silk of which there were two types, *patrorṇa* and *kauśeya*.[1] Yuan Chwang says that *kauśeya* was a kind of silk made from "a wild silk worm."[2] According to I-tsing *kauśeya* was the name for silkworm and the silk which was reared from this was also called by this name. He further says that it was a valuable material not to be used by monks.[3] *Patroṇa* was probably a finer or better processed variety of *kauśeya*.[4] According to the *Amarakośa* it was a very costly material (*mahādhanam*).[5]

In the *Amarakośa* and the *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, *aṁśuka* is treated as synonymous with *vastra* (cloth).[6] Bāṇa has described it as a very thin and fine variety of cloth.[7] At one place he described it as covered with pictures of flowers and birds.[8] On the basis of Jaina sources, Dr. Agrawala regards that *aṁśuka* was a silk cloth.[9] *Cīnāṁśuka* was certainly China-silk and *Paṭṭaṁśuka* too must have been silk. But a reference to the literary usage of the word *aṁśuka* during the period under survey makes it doubtful whether *aṁśuka* could be regarded as silk only though generally it was a fine variety which was called *aṁśuka*.[10]

Kṣīrasvāmin regarded *netra* as a variety of silken cloth.[11] According to Bāṇa it had variegated fine looking designs of flowers and leaves.[12] Śaṅkara, the commentator of the *Harṣacarita*, equates *netra* with *pṛṅga*.[13] In the *Varṇaratnākara*, *netra* has been given fourteen varieties, according to its colour and pattern.[14]

---

[1] लकुचवटादिपत्रेषु कृमिलालोर्णाकृतं पत्त्रोर्णम्।—Kṣīrasvāmin, p. 151.
[2] Watters, Vol. I, p. 148.
[3] Takakusu, p. 60.
[4] पत्त्रोर्णं धौतकौशेयम्—*AK*, Manuṣyavarga, 114; *ARM*, II, 549.
[5] *AK*, II, Manuṣyavarga, v. 114.
[6] *AK*, II, v. 115; *ARM*, II, p. 548.
[7] *HC*, Chap. I, p. 9.
[8] ibid., Chap. III, p. 114.
[9] *HCSA*, p. 78.
[10] *HC*, Chap. I, p. 9.
[11] on *AK*, II, v. 111.
[12] *HC*, VII, p. 206.
[13] ibid., IV, p. 142; VII, p. 206.
[14] नेत्रवर्णना——हरिणा, वैंगनी, नखी, सर्वाङ्ग, गुरु, शुचीन, राजन, पञ्चरङ्ग, नील, हरित, पीत, लोहित, चित्रवर्ण एवं विधचतुर्द्दशजाति नेतरेषु—

On the occasion of Rājyaśrī's marriage the ceiling of the marriage hall was covered with *stavaraka*.[1] Elsewhere Bāṇa refers to the kings putting on the coats made of *stavaraka*.[2] According to Dr. Agrawala the word *stavaraka* is the Sanskritised form of the Iranian term—*stavraka*. *Istabrak* its Persian form means brocade.[3] This seems highly probable. Certain images of the Sun-god belonging to the Gupta age and dressed in the Iranian style are also shown as wearing the costly costumes made of *kiṅkhāba*.[4] According to Bāṇa the coats (*vāravāṇas*) of the kings, referred to above, were also adorned with pearls.[5]

The exact significance of the two other varieties, *jātipaṭṭa* and *citrapaṭṭa*, is not known. Dr. Agrawala[6] and Dr. Moti Chandra[7] believe the former to be the *mooṅgā* silk of Assam available in the form of long pieces. Dr. Agrawala also opines that it perhaps bore the embroidery of jasmine flowers, and was, therefore, known as *jātipaṭṭa*.[8] *Citrapaṭṭa* in his opinion might have been a variety of damask. As the name itself suggests the pictures of flowers, leaves, etc. would have been its peculiarity.[9]

In the course of his description of Mathura, Yuan Chwang refers to "a fine striped cotton cloth", peculiar to the city.[10] In this connection it may be noticed that on the wall paintings of Ajantā, men and women are shown as wearing the clothes marked with linings.[11] Perhaps these represent fine striped cloth and may be identified with a modern variety of cloth known as *ḍoriā*.

Of the woollen cloth Yuan Chwang names two varieties *kambala* and *holali*. The former is described as "a texture of fine wool" (sheep's or goat's wool) and *Holali* (Ral) as a "texture made from the wool of a wild animal". *Kambala* being fine and soft

---

[1] *HC*, Chap. IV, p.1 93.
[2] ibid., Chap. VII, p. 206.
[3] *HCSA*, p. 80.
[4] ibid.
[5] *HC*, VII, p. 206.
[6] *HCSA*, p. 186.
[7] *BVB*, pp. 155-6.
[8] *HCSA*, p. 68.
[9] ibid., The *Śabdārtha Cintamaṇi* says that चित्रपट: छींट इति प्रसिद्धेवस्त्रे।
[10] Watters, Vol. I, p. 301.
[11] *BVB*, p. 155.

and easily spun and woven was prized as a material for clothing.[1] The word *holali* is still a puzzle for scholars. According to Watters, "as Yuan Chwang spells foreign words, the three characters may stand for 'Ral', a Tibetan word meaning goat's hair from *ra*, a goat."[2] This was to be identified with the *rallaka* of *Amarakoṣa*[3] held identical with *kambal*. Another variety of woollen in *Amarakoṣa* is *rāṁkava*. *Raṁku* according to Kṣīrasvāmin was a kind of deer.[4] Moti Chandra thinks that a wild goat found in abundance in the hilly regions and known as *raṅga* may be this *raṁku*.[5] If this identification is correct, *rāṁkava* may be regarded as our modern *paśmīnā* made from the wool of *raṅga*.

Washing, Dyeing and Printing of Cloth

According to Sulaiman there were ten to fifteen thousand men in the army of Ruhmi kingdom who were employed in fulling and washing of clothes.[6] Bāṇa refers to a particular method of cloth-dyeing, known as 'tie and dye'. The custom is still common to Rajasthan and Gujarat where it is known as *bandheja*, meaning to tie, because a dyer first ties the cloth at very small intervals, thus dividing it into numerous distinct parts which he subsequently dyes in different colours. The tied cloth remains white. Afterwards, all knots are untied and the cloth is dried in shade. Thus different kinds of fine looking designs are put on clothes. For these designs Bāṇa uses the term *bahu-vidha-bhakti*, an art in which household ladies were proficient.[7]

Printing of the designs of leaves and flowers on cloth can be inferred from Bāṇa's descriptive term '*kuṭilakrama-rūpa-pallava-parabhāga*'[8] which is a compound of four technical terms—(*i*) *kuṭilakrama*, (ii) *rūpa*, (iii) *pallava* and (iv) *parabhāga*. The word *kuṭilakrama* means the indirect order. The word *rūpa* is taken up by Dr. Agrawala to denote the blocks used for printing.[9] The

---

1 Watters, Vol. I, p. 148.
2 ibid., p. 149.
3 II, Nṛvarga, v. 116.
4 ibid., v. 111.
5 *BVB*, p. 145.
6 *ED*, Vol. I, p. 5.
7 *HC*, IV, p. 143.
8 ibid.
9 *HCSA*, p. 75.

word *parabhāga*, according to Śaṅkara's commentary, means the printing of one colour on a surface of another colour.[1]

Male Costumes

Male costumes were both stitched as well as unstitched. Generally, the two garments, the *adhovastra* and the *uttarīya* were sufficient to cover the whole body of a man. These two did not need tailoring. The former was put on the lower part of the body and the latter on the upper one. According to Yuan Chwang "the inner clothing and outward attire of people have no tailoring; as to colour, a fresh white is esteemed and motley is of no account. The men wind a strip of cloth round the waist and up the armpits and leave the right shoulder bare."[2] Bāṇa's friend Sudṛṣṭi had the two garments of silk made in Puṇḍra.[3] In the *Kādambarī*, Śūdraka[4] and Keyūraka[5] are said to have put on the two garments white like the foam of nectar or the light of moon, which obviously were the *adhovastra* and the *uttarīya*. Bāṇa describes the mode of wearing the *adhovastra* in the *Harṣacarita*. Its one pleat was put in front, a little below the navel, and the hem hung over the girdle behind. It was so bound on both sides that it displayed a third part of the two thighs.[6] In the *Kādambarī*, the *uttarīya* of the Divyapuruṣa descending from the sky is said to be white like the foam of ambrosia.[7] The *uttarīya* of Keyūraka was so fine that the *Śeṣahāra* fastened to it was clearly visible along with the long rays of jewels coming out of it.[8]

I-tsing speaks of the use of the two garments as common to all Indians. He writes "the laymen of India, the officers and

---

[1] *HC*, VII, p. 207.

[2] Watters, Vol. I, p. 148.

[3] *HC*, Chap. III, p. 85. Puṇḍra is the ancient name of the kingdom of Bengal.

[4] p. 104.

[5] p. 361.

[6] *HC*, I, p. 22. पुरस्तादीषदधोनाभिनिहितैककोणकमनीयेन पृष्ठतः कक्ष्याधिकक्षिप्तपल्लवेनोभयतः संवलनप्रकटितोरुत्रिभागेन हारीतहरिता निबि.-डनिपीडितेनाधरवाससा विभज्यमानतनुतरमध्यभागम्।

[7] p. 312.

[8] *Kādambarī*, p. 376.

people of the higher class have a pair of white soft cloth for their garments, while the poor or lower class of people have one piece of linen,[1]" and further adds " from the Mahābodhi eastward to Lin-i (i.e., Champa) there are twenty countries extending as far as the Southern limits of Kwan-chow (in Assam). If we proceed to the south-west we come to the sea ; and in the north, Kashmir is its limit. There are more than ten countries (islands) in the southern sea, added to these the Siṅhala island (Ceylon). In all these countries people wear two clothes. These are of wide linen eight feet long, which have no girdle and is not cut or sewn but is simply put around the waist to cover the lower part".[2] The lower garment described above corresponds to the *dhotī* of our days worn by men.[3]

The cut and sewn garments of men were *kañcuka*, *cīna-colaka*, *vārabāṇa* and *kūrpāsaka*. The foot-soldiers of Dadhīca had put on the red *kañcukas* spotted with black aloe-wood paste.[4] The feudatories of Harṣa had *kañcukas* darkened with black diamonds glittering on their bright forms.[5] Harṣa, before starting for *dig-vijaya*, dressed himself in a *kañcuka* of silk which was softer even than a plantain tree.[6] Pariyātra, the chief among Harṣa's door-keepers, had clothed himself in such a long *kañcuka* that his whole body was covered with it.[7] From all accounts it seems that *kañcuka* was a long robe of full sleeves coming upto the knees.

Cīna-colaka, as is evident from the name itself, was *colaka* in the Chinese style. Two different styles of *Cīna-colaka* have come down to us from the Mathura collection of images, the one seen on Kaniṣka's statue and the other on that of Caṣṭana. Kaniṣka's *colaka* opens in the centre on the front side, and that of Caṣṭana is like an overcoat, the left part of which is covered by the right one.[8]

---

[1] Takakusu, p. 67.
[2] ibid.
[3] The mode of wearing—it is described in the *Harṣacarita*, *vide* above No. 6 on p. 276.
[4] *HC*, Chapter I, p. 21.
[5] ibid., Chap. VII, p. 206.
[6] ibid., p. 208.
[7] ibid., Chap. II, p. 61.
[8] ibid., Chap. VIi, p. 207 ; *HCSA*, p. 151.

Vārabāṇa, as it appears from the name was a dress peculiar to soldiers.[1] It is suggested by scholars that the design originally belonged to Iran and was later on adopted by the Indians. It was a full-sleeved coat coming up to the knees and thus less longer than a *kañcuka*. A few male sculptures wearing a Vārabāṇa have been discovered from Mathurā and Ahichatra. The Persian name *barvan*, the Aramaic name *varapanak*, the Syriac name *gurmanaka* and the Arabic name *ẓu manaqah* are all probably derived from one and the same original Iranian name.[2]

The word *kūrpāsaka* etymologically means a garment, the arms of which come up to the *kūrpāsa* (elbow).[3] In the *Amara-koṣa* and the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* it is used as synonymous with *colaka*. Thus *kūrpāsaka* should have been a half-sleeved tunic.[4] According to the *Harṣacarita* the feudatories of Harṣa, who accompanied on his era of *digvijaya* wore the multi-coloured *kūrpāsakas*.

Of the trousers the four names known from Bāṇa are *caṇḍātaka*[5], *svasthāna*[6], *pṛṅga*[7] and *satulā*.[8] The word *caṇḍātaka* as the name itself suggests meant a half trouser reaching the middle part of the thighs.[9] The word *svasthāna*, which literally means 'at its own place', was perhaps the name of the tight trousers.[10] A female dancer wearing tight trousers is shown in the wall paintings of Devagaḍha temple.[11] *Satulā*, according to Śaṅkara's commentary, was the *ardhajaṅghikā*, i.e., the trouser coming up to the half thighs.[12]

---

[1] In the *AK*, *Vārabāṇa* is explained in connection with the *Senā* under the *Kṣatriyavarga*, verse 6.

[2] *HCSA*, p. 151.

[3] कूर्परेऽस्यते कूर्पास: ····—Kṣīrasvāmin on *AK*, II, *Manuṣya-varga*, v. 18.

[4] *AK*, *Manuṣyavarga*, 119; *ARM*, II. 552; कूर्पासस्त्वर्धचोलक: —*Hārāvali*.

[5] *HC*, Chap. II, p. 52; Chap. III, p. 112.

[6] ibid., Chap. VII, p. 206.

[7] ibid. [8] ibid.

[9] ibid., Chap. II, p. 52. (Śaṅkara's Commentary).

[10] ibid., Chap. VII, p. 206. (Śaṅkara's Commentary).

[11] *HCSA*, p. 148.

[12] *HC*, p. 206. In Bāṇa's description of Harṣa's army, the kings are represented as putting on *satulās* made by stichings of blue and white clothes.—*HC*, Chap. VII, p. 206.

The three descriptions of male-dress in the *Harṣacarita* may specially be noted here. Mekhalaka, the messenger of Harṣa's brother to Bāṇa, had a gaudy *caṇḍātaka* bound with a strip of cloth, stained with mud. As his upper-garment, he had a strip of ragged cloth rolling on the back and knotted in the front.[1] Pariyātra, the chief doorkeeper of Harṣa, had put on a white turban and a clean *kañcuka*.[2] His waist looked thin on account of being tied with a girdle ornamented with rubies.[3] On his breast he wore a necklace of pearls and in his ears a pair of jewelled ear-rings.[4] As an insignia of his high position, he carried in his left hand a sword with a handle studded with pearls and in the right he grasped a golden staff.[5] The foreheads of Dadhīca's soldiers carried a mass of long curly hair. In their ears they had a pair of *dantapatrikās* and a bright gold bangle on their left fore-arm. They girt their bodies with the red *kañcukas* spotted with the paste of black-aloe wood, fastened turbans on their heads and fixed fast the daggers in the sashes of a double-folded cloth. Some soldiers carried staffs in their hands.[6]

Alberuni, referring to certain strange manners and customs of the Hindus, observes: "They use turbans for trousers. Those whoe want littl dress are content to dress in a rag of two fingers' breadth, which they bind over their loins with two cords, but those who like much dress, wear trousers lined with so much cotton as would suffice to make a number of counterpanes and saddle rugs. These trousers have no (visible) openings and they are so huge that the feet are not visible. The string by which the trousers are fastened is at the back. Their *sidār* (a pair of dress covering the head and the upper part of breast and neck)

---

[1] *HC*, Chap. II, p. 52.

[2] ibid., Chap. II, pp. 52 & 61. A chamberlain was perhaps called a *kañcuki* because of his being always dressed in a *kañcuka*.

[3] ibid.

[4] ibid.

[5] ibid.

[6] ibid., Chap. I. p. 21. According to the *YTC*, the turbans of the soldiers of the North Indian regiment were made up with multi-coloured scarves arranged in layers (भागभागार्पितानेकवर्ण-वसनवेष्टितोष्णीषम्) and the Gujrat forces like Dadhīca's soldiers wore long cloaks reaching the knees (इतश्चाजानुलम्बमाननिवसनम्).

is similar to trousers, being also fastened at the back by buttons".[1]

The Dress of Buddhist Monks

About the dress of Buddhist monks and nuns special rules were prescribed in the *Vinaya* texts. As noticed by I-tsing, the Buddhists believed that "if the use of food and clothing be against proper rules, every step will involve some crime."[2] The clerical costumes of the *śramaṇas* consisted of the three robes, a *saṁkakṣikā* and a *nivasana*.[3] In the countries of Northern India three robes were generally called as *kāṣāya* as they were of reddish colour.[4] The three robes were a *saṁghāti*, an *uttarāsaṅga* and an *antaravāsa*.[5] *Saṁghāti* was a double cloak. *Uttarāsaṅga* was the upper garment and *antaravāsa* was the inner one.[6] The *saṁkakṣikā* as translated by I-tsing meant a side-covering.[7] It went over the left shoulder, covered the arm-pits, joined on the right being opened on the left and in length it reached below the waist.[8] The *nivasana* was put on crosswise round the lower part of one's body.[9] It was a self-securing garment without any belt and was gathered into plaits and secured by one of them.[10] According to the *Vinaya* rules it was four elbs long by one and a half in width and reached from the waist to about three fingers' breadth above the ankle.[11] According to I-tsing also it might be as wide as one cubit or the two, and if it was long enough to touch the ground, it was against the precepts of the Great Teacher. The way of wearing it was different among the monks of all the four *nikāyas*.[12]

---

[1] Sachau, Vol. I, p. 180.
[2] Takakusu, p. 53.
[3] Watters, Vol. I, p. 149.
[4] Takakusu, p. 54. *Cīvara* was also their another name.
[5] ibid.
[6] ibid., p. 55.
[7] ibid.
[8] Watters, Vol. I, p. 150.
[9] ibid.
[10] ibid., p. 151.
[11] ibid.
[12] Takakusu, p. 77. "The distinction of the four *nikāyas* (schools) is shown by the difference in wearing the *nivasana* (i.e., under-garment). The Mūlasarvāstivādanikāya pulls up the skirt on both sides (draws the ends through the girdle and suspends them over it) whereas the Mahāsaṅghikanikāya takes the right

Female Dress

The three well-known female garments were an *uttarīya*, a *kañcuka* and a *caṇḍātaka*. The *uttarīya* was meant to cover the upper part of the body. Most probably, it was a piece of cloth corresponding to a *dupaṭṭā* or an *oḍhanī* of our days.[1] *Kañcuka* or bodice was designed to cover the breasts.[2] It could also be long enough as coming up to the toes and was also known as *cola*.[3] The *uttarīya* or an *aṁśuka* used with a long *kañcuka* was used to cover the head and might have served also as a veil.[4] *Caṇḍātaka* was worn as an under-garment or a petticoat[5] beneath the long *kañcuka*. If the *kañcuka* was short, designed only to cover the breasts, like a *kūrpāsaka*, a *sāree* might have served as a lower garment, which was wound round the waist, taken up above the shoulders and the head and thus served also as an *uttarīya*. Sometimes women decked their *kañcukas* also with pearls.[6] Alberuni refers to a female garment, the *kurtaka* which was a short shirt with sleeves extending from the shoulders to the middle of the body.[7] It

---

skirt to the left side and presses it tight (under the girdle) so as not to let it loose, the custom of wearing the under-garment of the Mahāsaṅghikanikāya is similar to that of Indian women. The rules (of putting on the under garment) of the Sthaviranikāya and of the Sammitinikāya are identical with those of the Mahāsaṅghikanikāya, except that the former (the Sthavira & Sammiti) have the ends of the skirt outside, while the latter presses it inwardly as mentioned above. The make of the girdle (*kāyabandhana*) is also different."—Takakusu, p. 66.

[1] संव्यानुमत्तरीय *AK*, II, नृवर्ग, v. 118; संवीयतेऽनेन संव्यानम् उत्तर ऊर्ध्वे भवंमुत्तरीयम्—Kṣhīrasvāmin, p. 158.

[2] स्त्रीणां कन्चुलिकायां चोलद्वयम्। *Ṭīkā-sarvasva* on *AK*, *Manuṣya-varga*, 119.

[3] आप्रपदीनेन कन्चुकेन—*HC*, Chap. I, p. 31. Devakī, Krishna's mother in the Deogarh temple sculptures is shown as wearing an *āprapadīna kañcuka*; गुल्फावलम्बिनीलकन्चुकेनावच्छन्नशरीराम्।—*Kādambarī*, p. 21; Kṣīrasvāmin explains that चोल्यते छाद्यतेअनेन चोलः, आप्रपदीनं कन्चुकम् on *AK*, II, v. 118.

[4] उपरिक्तांशुकरचितावगुण्ठनाम् *Kādambarī*, p. 21.

[5] See Mālatī's description in *HC*, Chap. I, p. 32. Kṣīrasvāmin says that चण्डं भगमतति चण्डातकम्, on *AK*, II, v. 119.

[6] तारामुक्ताफलोपचीयमानैश्चकन्चुकैः—*HC*, Chap. IV, p. 143.

[7] Sachau, Vol. I, p. 180. The use of a *kurtā* is still common among the ladies in the Punjab.

appears like a *kūrpāsaka* used by women.

On ceremonial occasions coloured garments were generally considered auspicious. The bridal dress was generally of red colour.[1] The garments presented on festive occasions were generally red.[2] Yaśomatī who burnt herself to death before her husband's death dressed herself in the vestments of unwidowed ladies by putting on two reddish brown robes and a red veil.[3] Artfulness of dress was permitted only in the attires of married women. Maidens generally dressed themselves in simple and tasteful clothes[4] and widows in white borderless clothes[5], discarding all kinds of embellishments.

We have also a number of pen-portraits of women's dress. In the *Harṣacarita* the descriptions of Sāvitrī and Mālatī are of special interest and represent two types of female dress, the one of a divine lady who had taken temporarily to ascetic life and the other of household ladies belonging to the well-to-do families. The former is said to have worn a fine bark-robe made of the tree of paradise and as white as the mass of the foam of ambrosia. Between her breasts she had tied a knot, in *svāstika* form, with her upper garment made of lotus filaments. Over her shoulders she wore the white *yogapaṭṭa* (the ascetic's scarf) which looked like Ganges that had been coiled round her body by the power of austerity.[6] The description of Mālatī introduces us the new names of *caṇḍātaka*, *chāṭa-kañcuka* and *āprapidana-kañcuka*, the meanings of which we have explained already.[7] In Bāṇa's description of the women of Śrīkaṇṭha we find further mention of

---

[1] अरुणांशुकावगुण्ठितमुखीं——वधूमपश्यत्। *HC*, IV, p. 146-7; रक्तांशुक-परिधाना अधिकं विकसद्वदनशतपत्रा। आसन्नरविसमागमपूर्वदिग्वधूरिवारक्ता॥ —*SK*, Marriage description, II. 93-101.

[2] *Nāgānanda*, Act IV, p. 138.

[3] *HC*, Chap. V, p. 164.

[4] In the play *VSB*, the jester could reassure the king that a statue was of a maiden merely by looking into the mode of the dress shown therein.—*VSB*, Act I, p. 56 (भो मेहावि सि कुमारिआ क्खु एसा एदाए णेवच्छ-लच्छीए लक्खीएदि।). The king also says in the play that: कन्येति सूचयति वेषविशेष एव (Act I, v. 34).

[5] *HC*, Chap. V, p. 171. [6] ibid., Chap. I, p. 10.

[7] ibid., p. 32. Are we to assume that these were put on when women rode on a horse as Mālatī was doing at that time?

a net-like thing serving as a veil.[1] The courtesans who bathed Śūdraka are described as *aṁśuka-vinibaddha-stana-parikarā*.[2]

For the Buddhist nuns were recommended the *saṁghāṭī uttarāsaṅga*, *antaravāsa*, *saṁkakṣikā* and a skirt. The style and the rules of putting on the first four garments were the same as those for the monks of their respective *nikāyas* (schools). The skirt was made of a cloth four cubits long and two cubits wide, with both the ends sewn together. It covered the whole of the lower body from the navel up to the four fingers above the ankles and was tied at the back round the waist.[3]

ORNAMENTS

The decorative value of ornaments has been recognised in all climes and at all times, and India has been no exception to this rule. We may even go further and say that India had a greater profusion of them than many countries, and there is, at times, so much variety even about types that it becomes difficult to be sure about the various minute differences that characterised them. Yuan Chwang, for instance, remarked that the dress and ornaments of the kings and grandees were very extraordinary. Garlands and tiaras with precious stones were their head ornaments; and their bodies were adorned with rings, bracelets and necklaces. Wealthy mercantile people had bracelets.[4] Arab travellers also marked the popularity of ornaments among Indians, both male and female[5], and Alberuni found them wearing ear-rings, arm-rings, golden seal-rings on the ring-finger, as well as rings on the toes of the feet.[6]

Our literature abounds in the descriptions of ornaments worn by both the sexes. We give in an appendix the information culled from these with short notes wherever necessary regarding their identity[7]. Here we analyse only Bāṇa's poetic description

---

[1] *HC*, Chap. III, 98.

[2] "with their breasts and loins girt with *aṁśuka*."—*Kād.*, p. 31.

[3] Takakusu, p. 78. Ordinarily the nuns did not feel the need of tying their breasts with any *paṭṭikā* (i.e., a belt), but if they were high and large they might tie them without any fault.

[4] Watters, I, p. 159.

[5] *ED*, I, p. 11.

[6] Sachau, I, p. 181.

[7] Appendix X.

from the *Harṣacarita* as it gives a fairly good idea of the way these ornaments were worn. It describes the following ornaments worn by Mālatī.[1]

(i) About her loins a girdle (*rasnā*) rang.

(ii) Round her neck lay a string (*hāra*) of round pearls as big as *āmalakī* flowers.[2]

(iii) Above her bosoms, she wore a necklace (*prālambamālā*)[3] studded with green and red jewels.

(iv) Set upon her each forearm was a gold bracelet (*hāṭaka-kaṭaka*) having an emerald crocodile shaped signet.

(v) For her ears she had a pair of pendant ear-ornaments (*bālikā*), formed of three pearls comparable to *vakula* flowers.

(vi) In her left ear she wore a peacock-blue ear-ring (*danta-patra*) and in the right a pendant (*karṇāvataṁsa*) of *ketakī* flowers.

(vii) *Caṭulātilaka* danced upon her forehead kissing the hair-parting.

(viii) A crest jewel in crocodile shape (*cūḍāmaṇimakarikā*) was put in the hair on the front.

For further descriptions of ornaments one could refer to *Samarāiccakahā*[4], *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*[5], *Haravijaya*[6], *Bhaviṣyatkathā*[7] and *Tilakamañjarī*.[8]

Regional Varieties of Toilet, Dress and Ornaments.

Bāṇa notes that national characteristics like dress, features, food and pursuits of countries, varied from village to village, town to town, district to district, continent to continent and climate to

---

[1] *HC*, Chap. I, pp. 31-32.

[2] As it is compared with a cluster of nine bright planets, it perhaps consisted of nine big pearls, attached in a string to the neck.

[3] ग्रीवायां लम्बितं प्राज्ञैः प्रालम्बकमिति स्मृतम्।—*ARM*, II, 554.

[4] II, pp. 93 ff.

[5] XII, vv. 22-36.

[6] XXIII, pp. 299-310.

[7] VI. 17; IX. 17.

[8] pp. 226, 232 236 and 301.

climate.[1] But it is Rājaśékhara, the court-poet of Mahendrapāla, who with the object of instructing his pupils in the art of poetics for accurate descriptions gives us some definite information about the fashions prevailing in various parts of the country. The women of Bengal, he says, were fond of smearing their blond bodies with *agaru* perfumes, painted their bosoms with sandal paste, wore wreaths and covered their heads with a garment kissing the parting line of the hair.[2] In the north, the women of Kannauj, wore a lower garment completely encircling the waist and reaching as far as the ankles. They wore large ear-ornaments (*karṇābharaṇas*) and necklaces swinging down to their navels.[3] The women of the south made up their hair in a peculiar style, let their curly locks hang over their foreheads and tied up the *sārees*.[4] In the Avantideśa (the west), the style used was a mixture of the northern and the southern styles.[5]

The following selection from *Karpūramañjarī* gives a good picture of a woman's toilet at Mahodaya or Kannauj[6]:

Vicakṣaṇā. They made her toilet, sire, and decorated her with her sectarial mark and ornaments, and entertained her.

King. How so?

Vicakṣaṇā. Her firm limbs were anointed with paste of saffron essence until they were yellow. Her companions put on her feet a pair of emerald anklets. She was arrayed in a couple of silken garments as blue as the tail feathers of a king's parrot. Over the expanse of her loins was placed a girdle jewelled with rubies. Upon her two forearms as it were, the stalks of the lotus-like hands, were put rows of bracelets. A choice necklace of monster pearls was placed on her neck, and a pair of ear-rings, studded with gems was put on her ears. With native collyrium they adorned her eyes. The wreath of curly locks that fringes the crescent of her head was arranged. Upon the temple of the bright-eyed maid they heaped the flowers her tressy burden hid. Thus

---

[1] *HC*, Chap. VI, p. 198.
[2] *KM*. p. 8.
[3] ibid.
[4] ibid., p. 9.
[5] ibid.
[6] Act II, 12-22 (HOS).

the queen adorned the girl with decorations to her heart's content.

Even a photograph could not, perhaps, be clearer than this pen picture. The ornaments used are in the best Indian taste and not in the least excessive. The description is silent about *natha*, the nose ornament. Perhaps, it had not come into use till then.[1]

---

[1] Dr. P. K. Gode, "The Antiquity of the Hindus' Nose-ornament called Nath", *ABORI*, XIX, pp. 313-34. See also Dr. Gode's other articles on "Nath" in his book *Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol. II.

CHAPTER TEN

FOOD AND DRINK

FOOD

OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS of the seventh century Yuan Chwang mentions rice, wheat, ginger, mustard, melons, pumpkins and *kunda* (properly the olibanum tree[1]). Upland rice was produced in Lampā, Ṭakka, Jalandhara and Kosāmbi[2]. Ṭakka and Pariyātra yielded good crops of spring wheat.[3] Early wheat was grown in Sindha and Himtala.[4] According to I-tsing wheat flour was in abundance in the North; in the western districts baked flour (rice or barley) was mostly used; in Magadha (Central India) wheat flour was scarce but rice was plentiful and the southern frontier and eastern border lands had products similar to those of Magadha.[5] Bāṇa speaks of the waving fields of wheat and rice in the district of Śrīkaṇṭha, which produced also *rājamāṣa* and *mudga*.[6] Gram also must have been a popular and perhaps a cheap article of food, because Harṣa's army is said to have included it within its supplies during the course of its *digvijaya*.[7]

In the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II (c. 8th cen.) cereals of India are classified under three principal heads as *sūkadhānyas* (bearded grains), *tṛṇdhānyas* (wild grains) and *śimbīdhānyas* (grains in pods). Under the bearded grains he mainly discusses various kinds of rice, broadly classified as *śāli* and *vrīhi*. The distinction between both was respectively based on the two seasonal crops, viz., the rainy and the late autumnal, the latter (*vrīhi*) being transplanted. According to Srīdāsa, the rice which on being pounded became white was known as *śāli*. If it remained red it was called *vrīhi*.[8]

---

1 Watters, Vol. I, p. 178.
2 ibid., pp. 181, 286, 296 & 366.
3 ibid., pp. 286 & 300.
4 ibid., Vol. II, pp. 252 & 271.
5 Takakusu, p. 43.
6 *HC*, III, p. 94.
7 ibid., Chap. VII, p. 210.
8 कण्डनेन विना शुक्ला हैमन्ता; शालयः स्मृताः ॥३॥
वार्षिकाः काण्डिता शुक्ला ब्रीह्याश्चिदपाकिनः ॥१७॥ (Contd.)

Under the *śāli* variety, he discusses *rakta*, *mahān*, *kalama*, *tūrṇaka*, *śakunāhṛta*, *sārāmukha*, *dīrghaśūka*, *rodhraśūka*, *sugandhaka*, *pataṅga*, and *tapanīya*.[1] Of these *rakta*, a variety grown in Mālwā according to Śrīdāsa, was considered the best by Vāgbhaṭa.[2] But according to Yuan Chwang the best was *mahāśāli* which was grown only in Magadha. Its supply must have been limited, for it was consumed only by rulers and religious leaders of great distinction.[3] The Chinese pilgrim, who during his stay at Nālandā was offered *mahāśāli*, remarks that this rice was as large as the black bean and had a peculiar aroma of its own.[4] *Kalama* was another variety grown in Magadha.[5] In Kashmir region *kalama* was known as *mahātaṇḍula* and *tūrṇaka* as *ājava*.[6] The variety *śakunāhṛta* was popularly believed to have been brought in Buddha's time to Magadha by a bird (swan) from the Uttarakuru country and sown there by Viśākhā, the mother of Mṛgāri.[7] *Sārāmukha* was black-bearded, *dīrghaśuka* of white colour, and *rodhraśūka* with a beard having the colour of *rodhra* flower.[8] *Sugandhika* was very popular in Jalandhar and Magadha and was also known as *gandhaśāli* or *devaśāli*.[9] Inferior *śāli* types have *yavaka*, *hāyana*, *pāṁsu*, *vāṣpa* and *naiṣadhaka*.[10]

Of *vrīhi*, there were many kinds as *ṣaṣṭika*, *mahāvrīhi*, *kṛṣṇavrīhi*, *jātumukha*, *kukkuṭa*, *aṇḍakapāla*, *pārāvataka*, *śūkara*, *varaka*,

---

भावप्रकाश निघण्टु, धान्यवर्ग।
क्षुण्णः सितः स्मृतः शाली रक्तो व्रीहिरुदाहृतः॥

AH, Srīdāsa's commentary, p. 193. See also *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 102.

[1] *AH*, VI. 1-2.

[2] Śrīdāsa's commentary on *AH*, p. 192.

[3] Watters, Vol. II, p. 86; Beal, p. 109.

[4] Beal, p. 109.

[5] *AH*, Aruṇadatta's commentary, p. 88.

[6] ibid.

[7] ibid.

[8] ibid.

[9] ibid. On the basis of the word *gandha*, *sugandha* or *sugandhaka*, it may be held identical with our modern *Vāsamatī* rice, both literally meaning as full of smell.

[10] *AH*, v. 8 Chap. VI. No characteristics of any of these can be had from Vāgbhaṭa or his commentators, except that they were superior to each other in the descending order.

uddalaka, *ujvāla*, *cīna*, *śārada*, *durdura*, *gandhana* and *kuruvinda*.[1] Of these the first is mentioned by Yuan Chwang and is still known as *sāṭhī* rice. It was largely cultivated in Pariyātra and was so named because it was ready for harvesting in sixty-days' time.[2] It was the best of all *vrīhi* varieties and was of two kinds, black and white. The former was regarded as superior to the other.[3]

Under the *tṛṇdhānyas* or wild grains are described grains like *kordūṣa*, *yava* (barley), *vaṁśayojana*, *godhūma* (wheat), etc.[4] Of these *yava* and *godhūma* are well known. *Kordūṣa* is now known as *kodoṅ*. *Vaṁśayojana* cannot be correctly identified.

Under the *śimbīdhānyas*, Vāgbhaṭa places various pulses like *mudga* (kidney-beas), *āḍhaka* (pigion pea), *masūra* (lentil), *rājamāṣa*, *kulattha* (two flowered dalecas), *niṣpāva*, *māṣa*, *tila* (sesamum), *umā* (linseed), and *kusumbhajam*.[5] Of these *mudga*, *āḍhaka*, *masūra*, *rājamāṣa*, *māṣa*, *tila* and *kulattha* still form popular articles of Indian food. Both *tila* and *umā* are primarily meant for extracting oil.

Fruits and Vegetables

As meat eating in India was looked upon with disfavour by a large number of people, the use of fruits and vegetables was naturally greater than elsewhere. Of fruits which were held in esteem among the inhabitants of India, Yuan Chwang mentions mangoes, tamarind, *bassialatifolio* (the *madhuka*), jujube (*badara*), wood-apple (*kapittha*), myrobalan, diospyros, *ficus glomerata* (*udumbara*), plantain, coconut and jack-fruit (*panasa*).[6] The country of Pan-Nu-Ts'o, in the vicinity of Kashmir, produced mangoes, figs and plantain.[7] From Kashmir, pears, plums, peaches, apricots and grapes were planted here and there, pomegranates and sweet melons were grown all over the country.[8] In Mathura region the mango-trees were planted even in the orchards attached to houses. This fruit was of two kinds. One was small and became yellow when ripe. The other variety was large and remained green.[9] Vaiśālī

---

[1] ibid., vv. 7 & 8.
[2] Watters, Vol. I, p. 300.
[3] *AH*, VI, 6.
[4] ibid., vv. 11 & 14.
[5] ibid., vv. 15 & 17-23.
[6] Watters, Vol. I, p. 177.
[7] ibid., p. 283.
[8] ibid., pp. 177-8.
[9] ibid., p. 301.

mangoes were much prized.[1] Jack-fruits and coconuts were the fruit-products of Kāmarūpa.[2] Sugarcane was chiefly produced in Lampā and Kosāmbī[3], and grapes were abundant in Udyāna.[4]

I-tsing also mentions the great variety of fruits in India. Sweet melons, sugarcanes and tuber were grown in abundance, though edible melons were very scarce.[5] Rājaśekhara mentions six classes of fruits—*antarvyāja*, *bahirvyāja*, *vahyāntarvyāja*, *sarvavyāja* *bahuvyāja* and *nirvyāja*, basing the classification on their edibility or inedibility. *Lakuca* was *antarvyāja* because its seed was useless. Plantain was *bahirvyāja* on account of the inedibility of its skin.[6]

Milk and its Products

Vāgbhaṭa speaks of seven kinds of animal milk, putting mother's milk as the eighth kind. Of the milch animals he names cow, buffalo, goat, she-camel, sheep, she-elephant and mare.[7] The milk of a cow was considered the best of all from the medical view-point.[8] Drinking the milk of sheep or a she-camel is prohibited by Parāśara. One had to perform a purificatory rite if such milk was drunk even by mistake.[9] The milk of a cow or a buffalo was not to be drunk for ten days or so after delivery.[10] Of milk products the most common were curd, whey, butter, ghee and cheese.[11]

Meat Diet

Yuan Chwang says that fish, mutton and venison were occasional dainties.[12] In a military camp meat was provided to soldiers. Bāṇa's description of Harṣa's forces shows that goats, deers, *caṭakas* (a bird) and rabbits were included among its supplies.[13]

---

[1] ibid., Vol. II, p. 63.
[2] ibid., p. 185.
[3] ibid., Vol. I, pp. 181 & 366.
[4] ibid., p. 225.
[5] Takakusu, p. 44.
[6] *KM*, pp. 111-112. A list of the fruits and vegetables of India based on *AH* and *SNS* is given in Appendix XI.
[7] *AH*, V, vv. 21-27.
[8] ibid., v. 21.
[9] *Parāśara S.*, XI. 10.
[10] ibid., XI. 9-10.
[11] *AH*, V, vv. 29-42.
[12] Watters, Vol. I, p. 178.
[13] *HC*, Chap. VII, p. 211.

It is said in the *Bhaṭṭīkāvya* that all five-nailed animals could be used as food.[1] Vāgbhaṭa discusses the properties of the flesh of *mṛgas*, *viṣkiras*, *pratudas*, *vileśayas*, *prasahas*, *mahāmṛgas*, *jalacaras* and *matsyas*, referring especially to rabbit, partridge, peacock, cock, pigeon, *krakara*, *upacakra*, *citraka*, goat, sheep, cow, buffalo, bear and fish.[2] Of *viṣkiras* the partridge, of fish the *rohita*, and of *vileśayas* (animals living in holes) the *goha* (a guana) were considered as especially nutritious and delicious.[3] According to Alberuni the animals and birds whose slaughter was allowed in his days were sheep, goat, gazelles, hare, rhinoceros, buffalo, fish, water and land birds like sparrows, ringdoves, francolins, doves, peacocks, and other animals who were neither loathsome to men nor noxious.[4]

Yama-smṛiti, *Kūrma Puraṇa* and *Varāha Purāṇa* do not find anything wrong with the eating of meat offered to gods or served in a *śrāddha*.[5] Medhātithi distinguishes between an act of animal slaughter for ordinary purposes and for a religious purpose. On the latter occasion he permits meat.[6] A copperplate grant of v.s. 1079 proves beyond all doubt that the Brāhmaṇas living in the North of India did not abstain from accepting animal food in a *śrāddha* ceremony.[7] The practice of offering meat food to a Brāhmaṇa invited to attend a funeral repast is mentioned also in the *Samarāiccakahā*.[8] The Tāntrikas used fish (*matsya*) and flesh in the *sādhanā*.

Giving up meat diet, however, was not unoften commended by the Hindus. Devala says that no one should destroy other's life to satisfy one's tongue.[9] According to Yama, it is highly

---

[1] VI. 131. See also *Kūrma Purāṇa*, XVII. 35.
[2] *AH*, VI. 41-52.
[3] ibid., 66.
[4] Sachau, Vol. II, p. 151.
[5] *Yama S.*, quoted in *KKT*, Vol. III, p. 315; *Kūrma Purāṇa* XVII, 35-36; *Varāha Purāṇa* v. 12-13, p. 93.
[6] *On Manu*, II. 10.
[7] यथा श्रीमद्धारावस्थितैरस्माभिः पारद्विप्रभृतिकृतप्राणिवधप्रायश्चित्त दक्षिणायां स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तम्...राजा भोज of विश्वनाथ रेउ p. 8, Appendix 2.
[8] p. 578.
[9] Quoted in *KKT*, Vol. III, p. 321.

religious to refrain from meat diet because a meat-eater incurs great sin. One who increases his flesh by eating others is reborn in the *tiryagayoni* (i. e., either as a bird or as a beast)[1]. Bhavabhūti who, following the traditional account of Dharmasūtras, can tolerate even slaying a young cow, a bull or a goat to honour a *śrotriya*[2], has at the same time to say that this *madhuparka* custom need not be used for a guest who abstained from flesh.[3]

Among the Buddhists we find two different practices. The Hīnāyāna Buddhists of A-Ki-Ni (known in Chinese history as Yenki), who in matters of *Vinaya* followed India and strictly observed the rules of their order, are said by Yuan Chwang to have adopted the "three pure" kinds of flesh as permitted by the *Nirvāṇa Sūtras*.[4] The three pure kinds of flesh were of those animals whose slaughter the Brethren themselves had neither seen, nor heard, nor was suspected to have been on their account.[5] But the Mahāyāna Buddhists were generally opposed to meat eating. The *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of Śantirakṣita quotes many Mahāyāna texts banning the use of meat and fish.[6]

Ordinarily all Jainas, whether monks or laity, totally abstained from meat diet. But if Jaina monks had to pass through countries where it was not possible to get vegetarian diet, they could, according to some authorities, accept meat as alms. But this was only an *āpadadhārma*, to be followed in case of emergency.[7]

Spices

Certain items of spices such as salt, asafoetida, black pepper, dry ginger, *caka*, *citraka*, etc. are mentioned in the Auṣadhivarga of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*.[8] A mixture of cinnamon, acassia and carde-

---

[1] ibid.
[2] *URC*, IV, p. 203.
[3] ibid., p. 204.
[4] Watters, Vol. I, p. 53.
[5] Takakusu, pp. 46 & 58.
[6] According to the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, the *Laṅkāvatara* and other *sūtras* prohibited the use of fish or any other kind of flesh by the Mahāyāna Buddhists. *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 317. English trans. by N. Dutt. See also Watters, I, p. 344 and Takakusu, p. 44.
[7] *Life in Ancient India*, by J. P. Jain, pp. 127-8.
[8] *AH*, VI, *Lavaṇādivarga*, vv. 141-64.

mom was known as *bhijātaka*.[1] The district of Śrīkaṇṭha, according to the Harṣacarita, was full of the plants of cumin-seed.[2] Of salt eight varieties used were *saindhava*, *sauvarcala*, *viḍa*, *sāmudra*, *audabhida*, *kṛṣṇa*, *romaka* and *pāṁśuka*. According to Yuan Chwang four varieties of salt, namely red, white, black and white rock-salt were available in Sindh.[3] The black salt was much used for preparing medicines.[4]

Food Preparations

I-tsing who has given an account of Indian food preparations divides food into two classes—*pañcabhojanīyam* and *pañcakhādanīyam*, i.e., the food to be swallowed and eaten, and the food to be chewed before eating, respectively. The five *bhojanīyas* were rice, boiled mixture of barley and peas, baked corn-flour, meat and cakes. The five *khādanīyas* similarly were roots, stalks, leaves, flowers and fruits. Obviously the *bhojanīyas* alone needed preparation. The others were probably eaten raw like modern salads. If the *pañcabhojanīyas* were taken, the *pañcakhādanīyas* were to be consumed only if one felt like taking more food. But in case one started by taking roots, fruits, etc., a course of *pañcakhādanīyas* could be taken to satisfy one's appetite. Pudding and gruel, if hard enough, were included among *bhojanīyas*. Similarly baked flour mixed with water if thick enough to have a finger mark on its surface was regarded as a *bhojanīya*, i.e., as already pointed out, as a wet and soft food which could be swallowed and eaten.[5]

The method of cooking rice is described in the *Uttararāmacarita*, *Daśakumāracarita* and *Mānasollāsa*. First of all the husk was separated from the grain and the dust and awn removed with a winnowing basket. After that the rice was heated to the boiling point in water five times the quantity of rice.[6] When the grains got moderately swollen, the gruel was removed and the rice stirred and turned, and some clarified butter spread over it to make it

---

[1] ibid., v. 158.
[2] *HC*, III, p. 94.
[3] Watters, Vol. II, p. 252.
[4] *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, Beal, p. 152.
[5] Takakusu, p. 43.
[6] According to the *Mānasollāsa* the quantity of water should be three times the quantity of rice—v. 1352, p. 116.

fragrant and tasty.[1] The liquid or gruel taken from it after cooking was called *maṇḍa*. This was known as *peyā* if the amount of grains in it was small. Otherwise it was termed *vilepī*. If it was without any liquid, it was known as *odana*.[2] *Peyā* was a light food easily digested. Rice from which either liquid was taken away or cooked with condiments like *citraka*, etc. was also regarded as light. Rice from which liquid was not taken away or which was cooked with meat or milk was considered heavy food.[3] Rice could be eaten plain or mixed with salt, vegetables, curd, milk, sugar, etc., and its gruel could be cooked again by putting it in a vessel, adding a little salt, and fumigating it with perfumes evaporated on the charcoals.[4]

The *mudga-yūṣa* prepared in the way prescribed for, was regarded as easily digestible food.[5] Food preparation, of *tila* (sesamum), *piṇyāka*, dry vegetables, sprouted cereals, and *śaṇḍākā-vaṭaka* (i.e., small lumps of powdered pulses dried in the sun) were regarded as heavy food, bad for health.[6] *Rasālā*, *pānaka*, *lājā*, *pṛthuka*, *saktū*, *piṇyāka*, *vesavāra* and *apūpa* are other food preparations mentioned in the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*. Of these *rasālā* or *śrikhaṇḍa* was prepared with strained curd mixed with saffron and sugar, and *pānaka* with acid fruits like tamarind which were put in water for some time and then strained.[7] *Lājā* was parched rice and *pṛthuka* beaten rice.[8] *Saktū* is a well known food of present India popularly called *sattū*. *Saktū* was to be taken only once in a day. It was neither to be eaten at night nor without being mixed with

---

[1] *DKC*, pp. 161-2. गन्धेन स्फुरता मनागनुसृतो भक्तस्य सर्पिष्मतः॥ *URC*, IV. 11.

[2] Quoted in *DKC*, Sanskrit commentary, p. 162. See also Śrīdāsa's commentary on *AH*, VI, 25-26, p. 203.

[3] *AH*, VI, 27, 29, 30.

[4] *DKC*, VI, pp. 162-3.

[5] मुद्गानां द्विपलं तोये श्रृतमर्धाढकोन्मिते।
पादस्थं मर्दितं पूतं दाड़िमस्य पलेन तु॥
युक्तं सैन्धवविश्वाह्वधान्यकैः पादकर्षिकैः।
कणाजीरकयोश्चूर्णाच्छाणैकेनाव चूर्णितम्॥
संस्कृतो मुद्गयूषोऽयं पित्तश्लेष्महरो मतः।
Quotation from Aruṇadatta's commentary on *AH*, p. 95.

[6] ibid., p. 96.

[7] ibid., Aruṇadatta's *ṭīkā*, p. 96.

[8] ibid.

some condiment.[1] *Piṇyāka* was a preparation of sesamum. Meat lightly boiled and mixed with spices was called *vesavāra*.[2] *Apūpa* (small round cakes of flour) could be prepared on burning embers, a piece of earthen vessel, a frying pan or burning cowdung.[3]

Hariṣeṇa's *Kathākoṣa* also refers to various food preparations. *Ghārikā* was a pulse ground and fried with clarified butter. *Khajjaka* is our present *khājjā*. *Pūpapatrikā* was a thin wheat bread. *Pūrā* may be our modern *pūḍā*. *Pūrikā* looks like our modern *pūḍī*. *Maṇḍaka* was another variety of food which from the *Sthavirāli-carita*[4] of Hemacandra is obviously another wheat preparation probably what is known as *māṇḍā* in Rajasthan. *Aśokavartini* was some article of food which is difficult to identify.[5]

Sweeting ingredients were used in the preparation of sweets which is itself regarded as an art. Among sweets *Bṛhatkathākoṣa* mentions very often the *ghṛtapūraka* and the *laḍḍuka* which are obviously our *ghevara* and *laḍḍū* respectively.[6] *Bhaviṣyatkahā* mentions *laḍḍuka*, *kṣīrakhādya*, *kāsāra* and *suhālī*.[7] These along with

---

[1] *AH*, VI, vv. 37-38.

[3] Aruṇadatta's commentary on *AH*, VI, 39.

[3] The preparation of the cakes of wheat flour has been described in details in the *Mānasollāsa*. The method which is still followed by the Indians is as below :—

गोधूमाः क्षालिता शुभ्राः शोषिता रविरश्मिभिः ॥१३७५॥
घरट्टैश्चूर्णिताःश्लक्ष्णाश्चालन्या वितुषीकृताः।
गोधूमचूर्णकं श्लक्ष्णं किंचित्घृतविमिश्रितम् ॥१३७६॥
लवणेन च संयक्तं क्षीरनीरेण पिण्डितम।
सुमहत्यां काष्ठपात्र्यां करास्फालैर्विमर्दयेत् ॥१३७७॥
मर्दितं चिक्कणीभूतं गोलकान्परिकल्पयेत्...
गोलकान्पिषृकालिप्तान् पेषण्या तान्प्रसारयेत् ॥१३८२॥
सुतप्ततापनिक्षिप्तानीषत्पक्वान्विवर्तयेत्।
कर्परेपि पचेदेवं पोलिकानामयं क्रमः ॥१३८३॥

The फुलका or फोलका the modern Hindi name for bread seems to be a form of पोलिका ।

[4] II, 360-67.

[5] 7.75. *Ghārikā* is known in Sanskrit as *ghartika*.

[6] 7.75; 24.27; 56.228; 21.15; 35.15; 72.97.

[7] *Bhaviṣyatkahā*, XII. 3. *Kāsāra* was a preparation of wheat flour, milk, clarified butter, sugar, cardemom etc. *Kṣīrakhādya* was a boiled mixture of rice and milk. It must have been highly estimated as it was known also as *paramānnam*.

fourteen other sweet preparations are mentioned in the *Vilāsavatī-kathā* (A. D. 1066). According to the latter source many articles of food were put before the hero of the story. These, besides dates, raisins, and various other vegetables and salt preparations included *khīravaḍa*, *gholavaḍa*, *duddhavaḍa*, *gheurā*, *phiṇī*, *seva*, *suhālī*, *vaḍīya* and *lapasī*.[1] Some of these names are familiar in their Hindi form to most people who take sweets.

Seasonal Variations

In India food varies with the change of seasons. People digest food better in winter than summer, and every season has foods which agree better with the digestive system in that season than in others. Generally speaking pungent foods were regarded as good in the vernal season; sweet and cold in summer; salty and sour in the rainy season; sweet in autumn; and greasy and hot in winter.[2] Heavy, cold and sweet preparations were avoided in the months of spring; and sugar-cane, gruel, curd and pork were the food then used commonly.[3] In winter season one felt healthy and cheerful by living on wheat, barley, kidney-beans, and peas. The use of pork, newly husked rice, curds, sugar-cane, and the seasonal fruits like orange, etc. were included in the diet of winter.[4] In summer the people used *śāli* (variety of rice), the soup of kidney beans mixed with *ghee*, curd mixed with sugar or spices, fresh shoots and lotus stalks. The use of fruits like palm-date, blackberry, jackfruit, mangoes, betelnuts and coconuts, etc., in this season, made the people feel fresh and cheerful. The use of sweet-*rasālā*, *bhāta* (rice), flesh of deers and quails, boiled milk, fruit juices, etc. was recommended for extra strength.[5] For rainy season old *śāli* rice, wheat, barley and oily preparations were the best.[6]

Betel Chewing

Betel chewing was common among all cultured people of India. A visitor to a family was normally welcomed with the offerings of betel leaves. In royal palaces there were *tāmbūlavāhinīs*, i.e., female

---

1 *Vilāsavatīkathā* quoted in the introduction tc *AKT*, p. 112.
2 *Mānasollāsa*, Vol. II, Chap. XIV, vv. 599-600, p. 136.
3 *YTC*, III. 51; *KM*, VIII, p. 39.
4 *KM*, VIII, p. 102.
5 ibid., p. 106, 107-108; *YTC*, III. 52.
6 *YTC*, III. 53.

bearers of betels and even an officer-in-charge of *tāmbūla*.[1] According to Alberuni unrestricted use of betel leaves in India was due to the Indians' bad digestive power. People chewed betel to strengthen it. "The hot betel," he says, "inflames the heat of the body; the chalk on the betel leaves dries up everything wet, and the betel nut acts as an astringent on the teeth, gums and the stomach."[2]

The *Mānasollāsa* refers to the various ingredients used with the betel leaves. Excellent areca nuts were obtained from places famous for their production. Other ingredients used were camphor, musk, cardamoms, among various other perfumed ingredients.[3] The *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā* refers very often to *pañca-sugandhika-tāmbūlas*, i.e., the betel-leaves with five scented things, namely, cardamom, clove, camphor, nutmeg and mace.[4]

Forbidden Food

Certain articles, kinds and combinations of food were considered forbidden on account of religious and medical reasons. Bhaṭṭa-Lakṣmīdhara (11th cen.) quotes a passage from *Bhaviṣyat-Purāṇa*, declaring the five categories of the forbidden food as *jātiduṣṭa*, *kriyāduṣṭa*, *kālāśrayaduṣṭa*, *saṁsargāśrayaduṣṭa* and *suhṛllekham*.[5] The articles of food to be forsaken on account of their nature, *jāti* or *svabhāva*, were known as *jātiduṣṭa*. These were vegetables like garlic, *gṛñjana*, onion, *kavaka*, brinjals and *nālikalāvu*, *catraka*, *kumbhāṇḍa*, *vajraphalī*, and *kucuṁda*. The articles which were spoiled by the sight of an outcaste (*kriyāduṣṭa*), or on being preserved for long (*kāladuṣṭa*), or by coming in contact with an impure thing (*saṁsargaduṣṭa*) or which caused disgust to the heart (*suhṛllekham*) were also generally prohibited. Of the cereal products, the *Brahma Purāṇa* taboos *rājamāṣa*, *sthūlamudga*, *vṛsaka*, *vāska*, *masūra*, *śatapuṣpa*, *kusumbha* and *śrīniketana*. These were neither to be eaten nor to be given as gifts.[6]

According to Yuan Chwang ox, ass, elephant, horse, pig, dog, wolf, lion, monkey and ape were the animals not used for

---

1 *Kād.*, p. 123; *Mānasollāsa*, Vol. II, v. 959, p. 83.
2 Sachau, Vol. II, p. 152.
3 *Mānasollāsa*, Vol. II, vv. 972-3, p. 84.
4 V. 419.
5 *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* quoted in *KKT*, *Niyatakālakāṇḍa*, p. 276.
6 *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* quoted in *KKT*, *Niyatakālakāṇḍa*, p. 283.

food.[1] A list of such animals prepared on the basis of *Devala* and *Yama Smṛtis*, would consist of the aforesaid animals as well as cow, tiger, snake, boa, *ākhu*, mouse, cat, mongoose, boar, rhinoceros, *golāṅgūla*, fork and fish.[2] Of the birds to be put in the same category *Devala* and *Yama Smṛtis* refer to many.[3] Alberuni's list is not materially different from these.[4] But Medhātithi strangely enough enumerates peacock, horse, the white ass, the female sparrow, the wild cock and pig as lawful food.[5] The differences may perhaps be regional. The other animals not prohibited were those which had one row of teeth and five nails. But from this category we may exclude the cow. Alberuni who witnessed the condition towards the end of the tenth century remarks that cow-slaughter was strictly prohibited.[6] The edibility of fish is forbidden by *Manu*, *Devala*, *Yama* and *Hārīta Smṛtis*.[7]

From the medical view-point all the vegetables which were spoiled by frost, wind, heat, carnivorous animals and insects were regarded as bad. Similarly, the vegetables which either grew out of proper season, or were very old or dry or worm-eaten were to be avoided. Radish however could be taken even if it were dry and the *bilva* fruit could be consumed even if it were unripe as well as dry.[8] Overeating, undereating, eating together of hygienic and unhygienic food and eating immediately after once were regarded as injurious to good health. It was rightly remarked that excessive eating of sweets upset the stomach, too much of salty food caused the weakness of vision, constant use of sour and pun-

---

[1] Watters, Vol. I, p. 178.
[2] Quoted in *KKT*, *NKK*, pp. 303-304.
[3] ibid., pp. 300, 302.
[4] Sachau, Vol. II, p. 151.
[5] *On Manu*, V, 14 ff, 27, 41, 42.
[6] Sachau, Vol. II, p. 151. The lacuna in Alberuni's manuscript says that the use of cow's flesh was forbidden because it is essentially thick and cold and does not suit the hot climate of India. It also points out certain economic factors responsible for the prohibition of cow-slaughter. "The cow," it says, "is the animal which serves man in travelling by carrying his loads, in agriculture, in the works of ploughing and sowing, in the household by the milk and the products made thereof". Its dung was also used as fuel.
[7] *MS*, IV. 14, 16; *KKT*, *NKK*, pp. 309-10.
[8] *AH*, VI. 140-142.

gent things caused physical weakness and unhygienic food caused loss of strength.[1]

Some General Rules

Special attention was paid to the purity and cleanliness of food. After noting that cleanliness came naturally to Indians, Yuan Chwang writes : "Before every meal they must have a wash; the fragments and remains are not served up again; the food utensils are not passed on; those utensils which are of pottery or wood must be thrown away after use, and those utensils which are of gold, silver, copper and iron get another polishing".[2] I-tsing gives a few more details. He remarks that it is customary among the Indians, both priests and laymen, to distinguish between clean and unclean food. If a mouthful of food had been consumed, it became unclean. The utensils, too, in which food was served were not to be used again. Just after the meal ended the utensils used were to be removed and piled up in a corner. All the leavings of food were given to those who might legally take such (i. e., the departed spirits, birds and the like), for it was not thought proper to preserve such food for future use. This custom was observed by all, rich and poor, Buddhists and Brāhmaṇas alike.[3] To rinse the mouth after meals was also regarded as necessary.[4]

Generally food was taken at a fixed hour. The time prescribed, however, differs. According to Somadeva the best time was when one felt hungry.[5] In Buddhist monasteries the lunch hour was fixed at twelve after which no one was allowed to take his meals.[6]

Regarding the common rules of decorum at the time of food-taking, I-tsing observed that, first of all, the invited priests had to wash their hands and feet and then sit on a small chair of the height of about seven inches, placed at such a distance that one might not touch the other. They put their feet on the ground

---

[1] *YTC*, III. 45, 64.

[2] Watters, Vol. I, p. 152.

[3] Takakusu, p. 24.

[4] ibid., p. 26. King Harṣa is also said in *HC* to have rinsed his mouth after having taken meals (Chap. III, p. 159).

[5] *YTC*, III, pp. 328-9.

[6] Takakusu, p. 145.

and the trays were placed before them. The ground was besmeared with cowdung and fresh leaves were spread over it.[1] Similar customs prevailed amongst Brāhmanical Hindus.[2] While taking food one had to be barefooted, was not to sit either on a cot or facing south or west; nor was he to touch his foot or pick up utensils with the left hand.[3] One partaking food sitting in a row with others was not to get up before them. If he did so, all others sitting in a line with him, were bound to get up without eating any more.[4]

Only fresh food was to be taken. Stale food or food made hot again was not considered good.[5] Meals were to begin with items of heavy food, such as sweet fruit and sweets like *modaka*, *lapasī*, etc. In the middle were taken sour, saltish, dry and liquid dishes and the meal ended with light items.[6] Nothing was to be eaten after meals were over.

DRINKS

Kinds of Water

The rain water falling in the *svāti-nakṣatra* (station) was known as *divyam*. It was regarded as a remover of all evils. The water falling in the rainy season was known as *āntarikṣam*. The water of rivers was known as *nādeyam*. River water or water falling down from mountains, collected in a reservoir was known as *sārasam*. The water of *vāpīs* and wells was called *bhaumam*. The pure water collected in a cavity formed by rocks was known as *caundam*. Another variety of water was *audbhida* which sprang from low-lying ground. Tank water was *taḍākam*. The water of spring was called *nairjharam*. The water taken out by digging with hands a hole in sand and then allowed to stand till it became clear was known as *niṣpandaja*. Fresh coconut juice was also used for drinking. Of these kinds *divya* water was regarded as good for autumn, the river water for *hemanta* (cold season), of lakes for *śiśira* (winter), of big reservoirs for spring, of springs for summer

---

1 Takakusu, pp. 36 and 39.
2 *Brahma Purāṇa* quoted in *KKT*, *NKK*, p. 220.
3 *Parāsara S.*, VI, 65-66; *Bṛhaspati S.*, *Ācārakāṇḍa*, 90, p. 323.
4 *Parāśara S.*, XI. 7.
5 *AH*, VIII. 39.
6 *YTC*, III. 46.

and of wells and *vāpīs* for the rainy season, the chief reason for this probably being that rain and river water was generally impure in the rainy season and took some time to clean.[1]

Rain water was again of two kinds, *gāṅga* and *sāmudra*. Rain water which did not get spoilt on being kept in a silver vessel with some rice grains dropped in it, was to be known as *gaṅga*. *Sāmudra* got spoilt under the same conditions.[2] Water of rivers originating from the Himālayas, Malaya mountains and also rivers falling into the western sea was regarded as good water. That of the other rivers was unwholesome according to the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*.[3]

Syrups (*pānas*) prepared from the juice of fruits, etc. were also taken. I-tsing mentions eight kinds of syrup allowed to the Buddhist monks. These were prepared from *moka*, *koka*, *kolaka*, *aśvattha*, *udumbara*, *parūsaka*, *mridhvikā* and *kharjūra*. The juice of the stewed apricot was, by nature, thick, and therefore, avoided.[4]

Ice was used for cooling water and other drinkables. According to Bāṇa it was brought from the Himālayas. The earthen pots containing butter, milk, etc. were cooled by keeping them underground in ice.[5]

The Use of Liquor

Distilling of liquor was an important industry in ancient times and the followers of this profession formed a distinct class in themselves, known as Pulkasa.[6] *Surā* was the common name for all intoxicating liquor. Manu speaks of three kinds of wine as *gauḍī*, *madhu* and *piṣṭī*, distilled from molasses, grapes and grains, respectively.[7] The two kinds, the one prepared from sugarcane and the other from grapes, are spoken of by Māgha.[8] The eight kinds of liquor discussed by Vāgbhaṭa are *surā*, *vaibhitakī*, *mārdvikam*, *kharjūram*, *śarkarā*, *gauḍaḥ*, *sīdhuḥ* and *madhvāsava*.[9]

---

1 *Mānasollāsa*, Vol. II, pp. 136-7, vv. 1606-15.
2 *AH*, V. 3.
3 ibid., V. 8, 10.
4 Takakusu, pp. 125. and 220.
5 *HC*, Chap. V, p. 155.
6 *Auśānasa Smṛti*, v. 17. (*SS*, p. 46.)
7 *Medhātithi on Manu*, XI, 94.
8 *SV*, IV. 66, VIII. 30.
9 *AH*, Chap. V, vv. 67-75.

Yuan Chwang differentiates between the drinks used by the people of different castes. "The wine from the sugarcane" he writes, "are drinks of Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas drink a strong distilled spirit, the Buddhist monks and Brāhmaṇas drink syrup of grapes and of sugar-cane, the low mixed are without any distinguishing drinks".[1] As the cultivation of the *soma* plant has been evidenced by the *Harṣacarita* it is probable that the Brāhmaṇas might have used *soma* juice as a beverage.[2] Bāṇa's testimony also shows that *surā* was not taken by the *śrotriyas*.[3] In the *Nāgānanda*, the *Vidūṣaka*, a Brāhmaṇa by caste, feels impure even on being touched by intoxicated people.[4] Kumārila, the great Mīmāṁsaka and reformer, prohibits strong drinks only in the case of Brāhmaṇas. In the case of a Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya, he permits the use of liquors distilled from fruits, flowers and molasses but in no case from grains.[5] A Brāhamaṇa who drank *surā* made from molasses, grains and grapes or *madhuka* flowers, was according to Medhātithi, to undergo corporal punishment.[6] Like Kumārila, he forbids the use of *piṣṭi*, i. e., the wine distilled from grain, for both the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas.[7]

The use of intoxicating liquors was not wholly confined to one sex. Bāṇa speaks of "clanking ornaments of wine-flushed beauties", and of women with their mouths full of wine.[8] In the *Ratnāvalī*, a young lady's face, red with wine, is compared with *campaka* flower.[9] In the *Nāgānanda* the *viṭa* offers to *Vidūṣaka* the cup of wine drunk by his wife.[10] The tenth chapter of the

---

[1] Watters, Vol. I, p. 178.
[2] *HC*, Chap. II, p. 44.
[3] *HC*, Chap. VI, p. 181.
[4] Act. III, p. 111. See also the author's paper on Harṣa's plays, op cit.
[5] *TV*, English Translation, pp. 193 ff.
[6] *On Manu*. XI. 97. See also the Jodhpur inscription of Bauka of v. s. 894 *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 95. It says, those sons who were born of the Brāhmaṇa wife became Pratihāra Brāhmaṇas, those who were born of queen Bhadrā (a Kṣatriyā) became drinkers of wine.
[7] *On Manu*, XI. 97.
[8] *HC*, Chap. III, p. 97; Chap. IV, p. 130 and *Kādambarī*, p. 117.
[9] Act III, v. 13.
[10] Act III, p. 109.

Śisupālavadha is descriptive of men and women drinking wine together. Śukra says that in his days the women of Northern India drank wine.[1] According to Kumārila-Bhaṭṭa, even the Brāhmaṇa ladies of Ahichatra and Mathura were addicted to it during his days.[2] Medhātithi allows non-Brāhmaṇa ladies to take wine on festive occasions.[3] *Haravijaya* of Ratnākara, *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* of Śivasvāmin, and *Upamitibhavaprapañcā* of Siddharṣi Sūri[4] devote long descriptions to *pānakagoṣṭhīs* (drinking parties), and even if these descriptions be a bit exaggerated there can hardly be any doubt about the prevalence of drinking among both the sexes. With the Kṣatriyas and Śūdras it was something common; among Brāhmaṇas it has to be treated as exception.

The king of Assam presented to Harṣa "the cups of *ullaka*, diffusing fragrance of sweet wine".[5] Police officers, soldiers, drummers and their friends are represented as enjoying themselves by drinking in the liquor-shops. King Tārāpīḍa is said to have enjoyed drink like Balarāma, the brother of Lord Kṛsṇa.[6] The *Śiśupālavadha* speaks of its use by the fighting troops.[7] The *Śukranītisāra* says that wine when taken in due limits gave rise to wealth, sons and intellect.[8]

With the Tāntric teachers *madya* (liquor) formed one of the five 'M's (*pañca-makāras*), i. e., the five compulsory observances. *Mātṛkābheda Tantra* says that the liquor distilled from rice (which was most intoxicating) is on earth equal to that ambrosia which is enjoyed by gods in Heaven, because one attains *suratva* or the status of *sura* (a god) through it. It is, therefore, called *surā*.[9] The followers of Kaulamata guzzled strong drink as an essential rite of their creed.[10]

---

1 *Śukranīti*, English Translation by B. K. Sarkar, p. 187.
2 *Tantravārttika*, English Translation, p. 194.
3 *On Manu*, IX. 84.
4 *Haravijaya; Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, XIII; *UBPK*, pp. 696-7, 397. The references to the *pānaka goṣṭhi* are also available in the *Kādambarī*, p. 163 and *TM*, p. 172.
5 *HC*, Chap. VII, p. 217.
6 *Kādambarī*, p. 117.
7 Canto VI, v. 77.
8 *SNS*, I. 115-116.
9 III, 50.
10 See the chapter on Religion above.

But on the whole drinking was less common in India than elsewhere. The Arab travellers like Sulaimān[1], Abuzaid[2], Ibn Khurdadba[3] and Almasūdi[4] remark that the people of Hind generally disdained from wine and particularly the rulers of the country. According to Sulaimān, "the prince who drinks wine is no true king." He further says that "the Indians are surrounded by enemies and they say how can a man who intoxicates himself conduct the business of kingdom."[5] Almasūdi declares that if it could be proved against any king that he was addicted to drinking he had to forfeit the crown because such a king was not considered fit to rule and govern.[6] Such statements, though not absolutely true, are useful as showing that in the eyes of foreigners Indians appeared as people of very temperate habits.

---

1 *ED*, vol. I, p. 7.
2 ibid., p. 8.
3 ibid., p. 13.
4 ibid., p. 20.
5 ibid., p. 7.
6 ibid., p. 20.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

VILLAGE AND TOWN LIFE

VILLAGE LIFE

Territory and population are regarded everywhere as primary elements of the State. In India our analytical spirit put them under two heads, rural and urban, the former being regarded as the more important of the two because it is the rural area that provides the natural resources for building of forts, dams and economic projects. Man-power also comes chiefly from the country-side.

According to Kauṭilya, villages were not to consist of less than one hundred and more than five hundred families. Their boundaries were to be protected by rivers, hills, thorny bushes, ravines, dams and various types of trees. The inhabitants were to be mostly Śūdras because the main industry of the country-side was agriculture.[1] The village elders looked after the property of minors and temple-gods which meant that the villages had a corporate organisation.[2] In the uncultivable part the village had its pastures.[3] Though the period comes nearly nine hundred years later than that of Kauṭilya, most of these characteristics persist, showing thus a remarkable continuity in our village life.

As before villages were small and people looked to good location and means of protection before making a new settlement.[4] But in the period from A. D. 600 to 1000 the number of landlords may have increased, on account of the current practice of paying

---

[1] शूद्रकर्षकप्रायं कुलशतावरं पन्चशतकुलपरं ग्रामं क्रोशद्विक्रोशसीमानमन्यो-न्यारक्षं निवेशयेत्। नदीशैलवनभृद्विदरोसेतुबन्धशाल्मलीशमीक्षीरवृक्षानन्तेषु सीम्नां स्थापयेत्॥ *AS*, Book II, Chap. I. *Brahmadeya* villages, however, may have included a large percentage of Brāhmaṇas.

[2] बालद्रव्यं ग्रामवृद्धा वर्धयेयुराव्यवहारप्रापणात्। देवद्रव्यं च ibid.

[3] अकृष्यायां भूमौ पशुभ्यो विवीतानि प्रयच्छेत्। *AS*, *B*, *II* Chap. II.

[4] The copperplate grants of the Maitraka rulers show that the lands gifted measured from ten to seven hundred *pādāvartas*. According to Dr. Fleet a plot of one hundred *pādāvarta* was equal to ten thousand square feet. *Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra*, pp. 246-7.

for military service by means of assignment of land.[1] Brāhmaṇa donees, temples, monasteries and educational institutions held rent-free lands and received from the tenants the dues that were normally due to the State.[2] The tenants perhaps had a share of the produce of land.[3]

Of village industries the most important was agriculture.[4] Groves of trees, wood, water resources, etc., played an important role in village economy.[5] Irrigation in villages was carried out by means of tanks, wells, as well as canals. Persian wheels, known as *araghaṭṭa* or *śaṁśabditavāpī* were in common use.[6] King Lalitāditya (A. D. 740-776) of Kashmir constructed a series of water wheels to distribute the river waters to different villages.[7] Avantivarmana's (A. D. 855-883) minister Suyya had a number of irrigation canals excavated and dams constructed with a view to keeping the flood water under control and to safeguard the crops from

---

[1] "The ministers of State and common officials", says Yuan Chwang, "all have their portion of land and are maintained by the cities assigned to them".—Watters, I. p. 177. A Similar custom was prevalent among the Rajput dynasties of Northern India (See Dr. Ghoshal's *The Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 53-55).

[2] Babra Plates of Mūlarāja I, v.s. 1051. *EI*, X, p. 78. For similar references see also the landgrant of Mūlarāja V.S. 1043 *IA*, VI. p. 191; Mālwā Ins. of Vākpatirājadeva, V.S. 1031. IA, VI. p. 51; Grant of Dharaṇivarāha SE 836. *IA*. XII. p. 193; Arang Copperplate of Bhīmsena II G.S. 282., *EI*, IX p. 344.

[3] According to Kauṭilya, Nārada, Yājñavalkya and Kātyayana the cultivators in the earlier period had one-tenth of the crop. But if Bṛhaspati's evidence be also taken into consideration it would appear that the cultivator's share in the crop went up considerably towards the beginning of our period.

[4] Cattle-rearing and grass-cutting must have played an important part in village life. About other rural industries and professions we can have a fairly good idea from the mention of various sub-communities like the potters, leather-workers, carpenters, weavers, distillers of liquor, coppersmiths, ironsmiths, sugar-bailers etc. coming into corporations or guilds of their own, called *sreṇīs* in the form of '*pañcakulas' or goṣṭhikās*.

[5] See footnote no. 2 above.

[6] Bijāpur Ins. of Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍi of V. S. 1053—*EI*, X, p. 20.

[7] *RT*, V. 70.

similar natural calamities.[1] Bhoja Paramāra of Mālwā constructed a big lake near Bhopal to provide irrigational facility to the cultivators.[2] Chandellas were also builders of reservoirs and tanks.[3] But the measures thus taken were not sufficient to ensure permanent prosperity. People suffered as now whenever there was excessive rainfall, scanty rainfall or destruction of crops by flood and other calamities, natural as well as accidental.[4]

The one village was separated from another by a well-marked boundary. From Bāṇa's reference to *lohitāyamānam sindooritasīmni* it may be inferred that the village boundaries were marked as red.[5] That the boundaries of every field were well defined and registered in the State book is evident from the land-grants of our period which clearly state the boundaries of every piece of land on all its four sides.[6] In the 7th century, there was an officer known as *śimāpradātā* whose duty was to keep the records of lands with their boundaries, demarcations, etc.[7]

The *Gauḍavāho* of Vākpati (8th century) gives a general description of the country-side, which is perhaps most accurate for the territory included in the present Uttara-Pradesh. We read of villages surrounded by fields of rice, pastures, waterponds with various types of birds and barns where rice was pounded.[8] At dusk cows returned from pastures, raising dust on all sides.[9] Village women collected cow-dung for fuel, and from their huts curled up wreaths of smoke.[10] Houses were not very well looked after. Sometimes trees grew up and brought down the walls.[11] Obviously

---

[1] Full details of the irrigational achievements of Suyyā are given in *RT*, V. 85-113.

[2] Smith's *Early History of India*, *p*. 411.

[3] The Stone Ins. of Kokkla, v. s. 1058.—*EI*, I. p. 148.

[4] *HC*. III, p. 96; *ARM*, I. 127; *Kṣīrasvāmī* on *AK*, नानार्थवर्ग v. 68.

[5] *HC*, III, p. 47.

[6] See, for instance, the Valabhī Grant of G. S. 290.—*IA*, IX, p. 238; Lunsadi Plates of Śilāditya II, G. S. 350; Plates of Śilāditya IV, G. S. 331.—*JBBRAS*, I, p. 75.

[7] Nidhanpur Inscription of Bhāskaravarmana.—*EI*, XII. p. 73.

[8] *GV*. v. 273.

[9] ibid., v. 409.

[10] ibid., v. 536.

[11] ibid., v. 608.

villagers were as improvident as now. On festive occasions women dressed their children grandly and felt proud of their orange-coloured clothes.[1]

Bāṇa's description of Śrīkaṇṭha, though earlier by a century, supplements admirably the above account. It speaks of the fields of Śrīkaṇṭha with unbroken lines of *pauṇḍra* sugar-canes and of corn-heaps distributed among the granaries.[2] Its crops were watered by the pots of the Persian wheels.[3] Herdsmen went about mounted on buffaloes to look after the cows.[4] Vegetable-plants and fruit trees blackened the soil around the villages.[5] At every step one could see groups of young camels.[6] Their orchards had vines, pomegranates, coconuts, dates and *āruka*.[7] The land was full of ponds.[8] There were plenty of cows.[9]

Even more interesting are Bāṇa's descriptions of the villages of Brāhmaṇas, forest dwellers and the Cāṇḍālas. As social life in all these differed in important respects we give below the description of these.

A Brahmana Village

In Bāṇa's village Prītikūṭa, the homes of his kindred were resonant with the noise of continual recitation.[10] Young students ran about with their long tawny braids of hair, and foreheads white with sectarial marks made of ashes.[11] The terraces in front of the door were green with little beds of *soma* plants.[12] Rice and panicum for the sacrificial cakes were laid out to dry on the skins of the black antelope.[13] Young maidens strewed oblation of wild rice.[14] Fuel, leaves and bundles of green *kuśa* grass were brought by hundreds of disciples.[15] Houses were full of heaps of cow-dung and fuel.[16] Heaps of *udumbara* branches were brought to make pegs to mark out the altars for the three sacrificial fires.[17] The ground was white with lines of offerings to the Viśvedevāh[18] and the succession of

---

1 ibid., v. 598
2 *HC*, III, p. 94.
3 ibid.
4 ibid.
5 ibid., p. 95.
6 ibid.
7 ibid.
8 ibid., p. 96.
9 ibid., p. 95.
10 *HC*, II, p. 44.
11 ibid.
12 ibid.
13 ibid.
14 ibid.
15 ibid.
16 ibid.
17 ibid.
18 ibid.

animal sacrifices was clearly suggested by the young spotted goats playing about.[1]

A Forest Village

Vanagrāma as the name itself suggests was a village inhabited by forest people who had taken to agriculture in forest clearings. Such villages were perhaps many. The forest village, Yaṣṭigraha fell on Bāṇa's way from Prītikūṭa to Maṇitārā.[2] At another such village in the Vindhya forests Harṣa spent one night. In it cultivation was carried on by digging up the soil with spades.[3] The fields were small and scattered.[4] Scaffolds constructed above grounds, near the fields, indicated incursions of wild animals.[5] It had its own blacksmiths, fowlers, potters, weavers of mats, rearers of bees and wood-cutters.[6] The articles of village produce such as *śīdhu*-bark, *dhātakī* flowers, cotton, flax and hemp, honey, peacocks' tail-feathers, compressed wax, barkless *khadira* logs, *kuṣṭha* and *lodhra* were carried by the foresters for sale to the neighbouring villages, either on their heads or on animals or carts.[7] Village women collected forest-fruits in baskets and carried them for sale to the neighbouring villages.[8]

In every direction at the entrance to the forest were drinking arbours made of wayside trees in which were kept cool porous vessels, pitchers black with moist aquatic plants for the purpose of keeping the water cold and cups having pink flowers tied by straw whisps about their necks.[9] Successive troops of pilgrims came there, rested and drank cold water.[10]

The houses of the forest householders were situated at wide intervals.[11] Built of slips of bamboos, leaves, stalks and reeds and girt with orchards of *snuhā*, they were difficult of access,

---

1 ibid.
2 *HC*, Chap. II, p. 57.
3 ibid., Chap. VII, p. 227.
4 ibid.
5 ibid., p. 228.
6 ibid., pp. 228-9.
7 ibid.
8 ibid., p. 229.
9 ibid., p. 228.
10 ibid.
11 ibid.

because of being girt with rows of thorny *karañja* bushes.[1] They had garden enclosures with clumps of *eraṇḍa*, *śigru*, *sūraṇa*, *surasa*, *vaṅgaka*, *granthaparṇi*, *gavedhuka* and *vaca*, and a network of *kaṣṭhāluka* creepers. The walls of the houses were ornamented with *gorocana* pigments and *kiṅśuka* flowers.[2] Inside the houses one found the piles of charcoal tied with *balvaja* grass, numerous heaps of cotton from the *seemul* tree fruit, stores of *nala* rice, water-lily roots, candied-sugar, white-lotus seeds, bamboos, threshed rice, collection of *tamāla* seeds, mats stained with mud, withered *rājādana* and *madana* fruits, abundance of *madhūka* fruit, pots of safflower in excellent cup-boards, and the seeds of *rājamāṣa*, cucumber, *karkaṭika*, and gourd.[3] Wild cats, *māludhāna* snakes, ichneumons, *śālijātakas* and the like were the favourite pets of these village householders.[4]

A Candala Colony (Pakkana)[5]

Kādambarī gives a graphic description of a Cāṇḍāla colony and the habits and the standard of its inhabitants. The existence of houses behind dense clumps of bamboos could be inferred from the inspiring columns of smoke which carried with themselves a smell like that of raw meat. Its streets were largely covered with skeletons. In its bazars lay heaps of rubbish mixed with bones. Yards of its huts were almost muddy with blood, fat, marrow and bits of flesh.

Hunting was largely the only occupation of its inhabitants. The Cāṇḍāla boys occupied themselves with hunting, fishing, mending old nets broken by the deer, restoring traps used in catching animals and so on. They had bows and arrows in their hands which inspired fear on account of the barbed missiles that they held. Flesh was their only food. They mostly used fat instead of oil and wore clothes manufactured of wild silk. Their bed-sheets were generally made of skins; dogs were their only servants and the white oxen mostly the animals they had to ride on.

Incidentally, Bāṇa also expresses admirably the feelings entertained by the higher castes towards the Cāṇḍālas and their settlement. It represented, as it were, all hells. It was, as it were

---

[1] ibid., pp. 229, 230.
[2] ibid.
[3] ibid., p. 230.
[4] ibid.
[5] *Kādambarī*, p. 591; *AK*, पुरवर्ग, 21.

the source of all evils, a colony of all burning grounds, a city of all sins and the dwelling of all torments. Even its memory excited horror, even its mention aroused terror and even its sight produced sin. By both birth and deeds its residents were impure, and much more cruel than even low people; their deeds were more heartless than even the hearts of the vulgars. The behavior of Cāṇḍāla children, youths and old men was alike. There were no restrictions as regards relations with women. It was verily a market of evil.[1]

Pastoral Life in Villages

Some idea of the pastoral life in villages can be had on the basis of a story in the *Bṛhatkathākoṣa* of Heriṣeṇācarya, which was composed in the beginning of the third decade of the tenth century A. D. It refers to the *mahattara* of a village who enjoyed the pastoral land adjoining his village on the condition that he gave one thousand *kumbhas* (pitchers) of *ghee* (clarified butter) to the ruler. As he had two wives he divided his cows between them and asked them to provide five hundred *kumbhas* each at the end of the year. One of them who was very careful, accompanied her cows to a certain distance every day and returned home after counting the cows and entrusting them to the herdsmen. Similarly she counted them in the evening. She gave them good *vaṭṭalaka* (food for cattle) and entertained the herdsmen also with milk, *ghee* and necessary lodging and boarding. When they went to pastoral land she sometimes gave them sweets and when they returned treated them well. The result of this was that the herdsmen also took care of the cows, grazed them properly, gave them good rest under the shade of trees and removed vermins from their skin. She cleaned also properly the vessels in which the cows were milked. The result was that at the end of the year she gave not only the five hundred *kumbhas* of ghee due from her but also five hundred more when her co-wife could not, on account of her bad management, supply even one *kumbha*.[2]

Towns and Town Life

India in the period of the survey was mainly an agricultural country with an abundance of rural settlements. But a good number of

---

[1] *Kādambarī*, pp. 591-3.
[2] *BKK*, pp. 36-37.

towns and cities also existed. Yuan Chwang describes many flourishing towns of Northern India; and in the succeeding generations ambitious rulers eager to perpetuate their name added to their number. Vanarāja of the Cāpa dynasty founded his capital town Aṇhilapāṭṭaka, in the west, about the middle of the 8th cen. A. D.[1] Lalitāditya of Kashmir founded a new capital Parihāsapura and adorned it with some of the most magnificent buildings of that area.[2] His grandson Jayāpīḍa, built the town of Jayapura.[3] The town of Avantipura (modern Vantipur) was built on the banks of the Vitastā in the time of Avantivarman A. D. 856-883. His minister Sūra founded the town of Surapura (modern Hurpor).[4] Suyyapura on the banks of the Vitastā was the famous town built by Avantivarman's another minister Suyya.[5]

Of the old towns many might have had a haphazard growth. But the new ones may have been well-planned, for town planning was in those days a well-recognised science. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, *Mānasāra*, *Śukranītisāra*, *Yuktikalpataru* and *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhārā* deal more or less elaborately with the subject.

The site for the construction of a capital city was carefully selected.[6] The bank of a river was generally preferred because of its strategic as well as economic values. Vidiśā, the capital of King Śudraka, is described as girded by the river Vetravatī.[7] The river Śiprā flowed by Ujjayinī. In hilly areas the fortified capital generally stood on a precipitous hill.[8] Citrakūṭa, Maṇḍor[9],

---

[1] *AIK*, p. 102.
[2] *RT*, IV, v. 194.
[3] ibid., v. 506.
[4] *RT*, V. 39, 44. [5] ibid., v. 81 ff.
[6] According to Śukra a king should build his capital city on a piece of land abounding in trees and plants, rich in cattle and birds, endowed with good water supply, capable of yielding plenty of grains and situated in the neighbourhood of a river in which boats could ply easily. The city proper was to be built on even ground in the form of a semi-circle or square.—*SNS*, I. 112-3.
[7] *Kādambarī*, p. 12.
[8] The Gwalior Praśasti of the Gurjar-Pratihāra King Bhoja speaks of the hill forts of the kings of Anarta, Mālwā, Kirāta Turushka, Vatsa and Matsya. —*EI*, XVIII, pp. 107 ff.
[9] Maḍḍodara (*EI*, IX. 280) and Māṇḍavyapuradurga (*JRAS* 1894, p. 5). were its old names. Its remains are described in the *Archaeological Survey Report* 1909-10, pp. 93-4.

Kalañjara, Gwalior,[1] etc. were such hill fortresses. And to add to these natural advantages, big towns in India were protected by thick ramparts and deep ditches.[2] The wall was high enough not to be easily escaladed[3] and had generally four principal gates, one in each direction. The ditch was not dug very near to the rampart and was mostly kept full of water.[4]

Roads were built for the conveyance of marketable commodities.[5] The *rājamārga* or the highway was generally twenty to thirty cubits wide and the one of fifteen cubits was considered as below the standard.[6] Footpaths (*padyas*) were three cubits wide, streets (*vīthis*) five cubits and passages (*mārgas*) ten cubits.[7] Roads were built so high in the middle that they looked like a tortoise's back[8]. There were drains on both sides of the road. Bridges and culverts were built wherever necessary and were perhaps maintained with convict labour though the use of free labour also may not have been uncommon.[9]

These details culled from indigenous sources appear to be correct, for, according to Yuan Chwang, Indian market-roads were generally broad but the streets were narrow tortuous passages. He also refers to the quadrangular wall, broad and high, fortifying the city.[10] Muslim historians have also spoken of some of the chief towns in North India. The city of Multan according to Idrisi had a citadel with four gates and was surrounded by a moat.[11]

---

[1] Kālañjara and Gwalior are described by Hasan Nazami. The former, according to him, was "celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the wall of Alexander" and the latter was "the pearl of the necklace of the castles of Hind, the summit of which the nimble-footed wind from below could not reach, and on the bastion of which the rapid clouds had never cast their shade." —*ED*, II, pp. 231 and 227.

[2] See the description of Ujjayinī in the *Kādambarī*, p. 98; *SNS*, I, 214.

[3] *SNS*, I. 237.

[4] ibid., I. 240.

[5] ibid., I. 258-260.

[6] ibid., I. 259-260.

[7] ibid., I. 261.

[8] The same unscientific system, it may be noted, prevailed in England upto the 19th century.

[9] *SNS*, I. 265, 268. According to the *Samarāṇgaṇasūtradhāra* the drains in a *pura* were to be constructed of the size of two *hastas* and were to remain covered either with stone or wood. 10. 52.

[10] Watters, I. p. 147.

[11] *ED*, I. p. 82.

Kannauj had seven detached forts.[1] Ajmer was enclosed with four walls.[2] Delhi was one of the chief (mother) cities of India and consisted of a fortress which in height and breadth had not its equal nor second throughout the length and breadth of the seven climes.[3] According to the *Cacanāmāh* the kingdom of Dāhir in Sind also had many fortified towns.[4]

Houses were built of brick and wood. Halls and belvederes had flat wooden-roofed rooms. They were coated with chunam and covered with tiles burnt and unburnt. Rich people lived in lofty palaces. But the humble folk lived in thatched houses, the walls of which were white-washed and floors purified with cow-dung and bestrewn with flowers. Though plain-looking from outside they were generally sumptuous from inside. The inner rooms and the central hall were of varying size and there was no rule for form or construction for the tiers of the terraces or the rows of high rooms. People preferred doors of the houses to open to the east.[5] Special attention was paid to good ventilation. According to Śukra two doors on each side of a room brought wealth and children to a man. The doors and windows of a room were not to have their view obstructed by others walls.[6]

The Buddhist monasteries had an architectural scheme of their own. Generally a tower was erected at each end of the quadrangle of the monastery and the three high halls were built in a tier. The rafters and roof-beams were carved with beautiful figures and the doors, windows and walls were painted in various colours.[7] Some of the monasteries were remarkably splendid structures. In the university of Nālandā, the richly adorned taverns and fairy-like turrets, like pointed hill tops, were congregated together. The observatories seemed to be lost in the vapours (of the morning), and the upper rooms towered above the clouds.[8]

---

[1] The account of AlUtbi (A. D. 1020)—*ED*, II. pp. 46 & 458.

[2] ibid., p. 226. The account of Hasan Nizami (A. D. 1205).

[3] ibid., p. 216.

[4] *ED*, Vol. I, pp. 142, 154, 159, 162, 163, 174, 192, 203 & 204.

[5] Watters, Vol. I, p. 147.

[6] *SNS*, I, 230-32.

[7] Watters, Vol. I, p. 147.

[8] Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 111.

In the caste-ridden society of India, no low-caste man could be allowed to live with the *dvija* classes for reasons of caste as well as hygiene. Even the members of the four castes in a town lived in different wards, and in houses built in different styles.[1] The habitations of butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners and scavengers had, therefore, to be placed outside a town or a village, and were marked by a distinguishing sign.[2]

The State provided rest houses in towns and villages.[3] A manager supervised them. It was his duty to institute enquiries regarding traveller's caste, family, name, permanent address, destination, the purpose of his visit and the number of attendants, etc. At night he took away the arms of all travellers and kept them with himself. When a traveller left the inn, he was accompanied either by the manager himself or his attendant up to the boundary of the village.[4]

Of towns there were many types, *rājadhānīya*, *nagara*, *kevala-nagara*, *pura*, *nagarī*, *kheṭa kharvata*, *kubjaka* and *pattana*. Forts were classified as *śivira*, *vāhinimukha*, *sthānīya*, *droṇaka*, *saṁviddha*, *kolaka*, *nigama* and *skandhāvāra*. The eight types of towns also might be called forts for our practical purposes.[5] *Kādambarī* gives a good description of Ujjayinī, the *nagarī* of Tarāpīḍa.[6] Different from *skandhāvāra* was *śivira* purely a temporary military camp to be raised on a suitable ground whenever a king left the place of his permanent residence on some tour. *Skandhāvāra*, on the other hand, was a fortified and permanent royal settlement provided with all essentials of a town.[7] The *Harṣacarita* has detailed descriptions of both, one a cantonment of Harṣa on the river Ajirvatī,[8]

---

[1] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* Chap. LIII, vv. 12, 13, 69.

[2] Watters, I, p. 147.

[3] *SNS*, I. 216, 268. Yuan Chwang had also noticed the *puṇyaśālās* or rest-houses in many towns of India.—Watters, I, pp. 288, 328; II, 286.

[4] *SNS*, I. 269-274.

[5] *Mānasāra*, X. 19-21.

[6] pp. 98-104.

[7] *ARM*, II. 286, 452.

[8] In a *śivira* also known as *kaṭaka* the chiefs and troops lived in tents pitched for their residence. Bāṇa refers to the cloth screens belonging to tents and marquees in Harṣa's camp (पटकुटी-काण्डपटमण्डपपरिवस्त्रावितानके *HC*, VII, p. 204. In the *Śiśupāla-*

i. e. Rāptī, and the other probably that part of his capital which served as his camp, court as well as palace.[1] From inscriptions we can cite the examples of Mahodaya, Pāṭaliputra and Vikramapura which were *skandhāvāras* as well as capitals.[2]

Urban Life in General

The towns of our period were no mere glorified villages. With lofty buildings everywhere, beautiful temples on crossroads, waving banners, gardens, tanks, fountains, and artful picture-galleries decorated with the figures of gods, demons, *siddhas*, *gandharvas*, *vidyādharas* and *nāgas*, the towns had a life of their own.[3]

The urban population consisted of various classes and castes of people. Of the inhabitants of Sthāṇavīśvara, Bāṇa particularly refers to sages, courtesans, actors, warriors, philosophers, aspirants to knowledge (*vidyārthīs*), singers, scientists, merchants, bards, good people (*sajjanas*), refugees, libertines, wayfarers, treasure-seekers (*dhātuvādins*), Buddhists, troubadours and Brāhmaṇas.[4] Though the classes here overlap, it is not a bad cross-section of the urban society of the 7th century. People freely intermixed with each other. Bāṇa, though a member of an orthodox family, had among his companions his two Pāraśava brothers Candraṣeṇa, and Mātṛṣeṇa; the vernacular poet Īṣāṇa; two adherents (*praṇayī*) Rudra and Nārāyaṇa; two preceptors, Vārabāṇa and Vasabāṇa; a *Varṇakavi* Veṇībhārata; a Prakrit poet, the young Vāyuvikāra; two penegyrists, Anaṅgabāṇa and Sucībāṇa; an ascetic widow, Cakravākikā; a snake-doctor, Mayūraka; a betel-bearer, Caṇḍaka; a young physician, Mandāraka; a reader, Sudṛṣṭi; a goldsmith, Cāmīkara; a diamond-cutter, Sindhuseṇa; a scribe, Govindaka; a painter, Vīravarmā; a modeller, Kumāradatta; a drummer, Jīmuta; two singers, Somila and Grahāditya; a maid, Kurangikā; two pipers, Madhukara and Pārāvata; a music teacher, Darduraka; a

---

vadha also a camp is described with tents made of white cloth and kept in a proper position by means of ropes.—*SV*, V, vv. 21 ff. See also *Kād.*, p. 224.

[1] See below.

[2] *AIK*, p. 29.

[3] See the description of Ujjainī in *Kād.*, pp. 99-100.

[4] *HC*, III. pp. 97-8.

female shampooer, Keralikā; a dancer, Tāṇḍavika; a dicer, Ākhaṇḍala; a gamester, Bhīmaka; a young actor, Śikhaṇḍaka; a dancing girl, Hariṇikā; a Parāśara mendicant, Sumati; a Jain monk (*kṣapaṇaka*), Vīradeva; a story-teller, Jayasena; a Śaiva devotee, Vakraghoṇa; a magician, Karāla; a treasure-seeker (*dhātuwādin*), Lohitākṣa; an assayer, Vihaṅgama; a potter, Dāmodara; a juggler, Cakorākṣa; and a Brāhmaṇa mendicant, Tāmracūḍa.[1] Of the people inhabiting Kāśī Dāmodaragupta particularly refers to Brāhmaṇas, grammarians, *yogīs*,[2] courtesans and musicians.[3] That various professional classes plied their trade in the localities assigned to them can be seen from the description of town-planning. Besides all this, the centre of all life in big towns and capitals must have been royal offices and their retinue.

Good descriptions of the city-bred men of fashion can be had from the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* of Dāmodaragupta (9th century).[4] Dressed in the best of clothes, wearing the costliest of ornaments and attended by servants they lived luxuriously. They displayed their skill in *patraccheda*, *nāṭyaśāstra*, *gīta* and instrumental music. They were also skilled archers and swordsmen and remind one irresistably of the Parician of the 19th century in their virtues as well as defects.

From the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (early decades of the 10th century) we have the description of a poet, of course of not one living in a village but a city and probably patronised by the king. He lived in a clean and properly white-washed house in which there were different places to sit in different seasons, orchards with various kinds of trees, artificial tanks, lakes, canals, and pleasure-hills, shady places safe from the sun and the rain, swings and birds and animals like peacocks, deers, cranes, swans and parrots.[5] He is advised to observe purity of mind, speech and body always.[6] To attain physical purity he was to pare his nails regularly, chew

---

[1] *HC*, I. pp. 41-2.

[2] For details regarding the fact that the courtesans during the period formed one of the chief attractions of towns see the chapter on "Marriage and the Position of Women".

[3] *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, vv. 3-19.

[4] *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, vv. 62-87.

[5] *KM*, X, pp. 49-50.

[6] ibid., p. 49.

betels, annoint his body with scents and fragrant ointments, wear clean and costly costumes and a wreath of flowers round his neck.[1] He was to get up early in the morning and perform his morning prayers, including the recitation of the *Sārasvata-sūkta*.[2] Then going to his reading room he was first to read poetry and then write. Towards midday he was to have his bath and meals and then to attend to the *kāvya-goṣṭhīs* in which he was to discuss his work done in the morning.[3] He was to sleep for only six hours at night and then in the early hours of the next morning to review his work of the preceding day.[4]

Princely India

In the towns lived also the princes who at the capital as well as in the camps, which were themselves miniature cities, lived a life with its own characteristics.[5] A description of it is important, as it must have been copied, to the extent of their capacity, not only by the powerful feudatories but also the richer section of the society.

Harṣa's *skandhāvāra* near the Maṇitārā village extended over a vast area divided into two parts,[6] the one consisting of a large open area and the other constituting the *rājagṛha* or *rājakula*, i. e., the king's palace.[7] In the first part immediately after the beginning of the *skandhāvāra* area, there were the stables for keeping elephants, horses and camels.[8] Next to them was the place for the visitor's camps, who came to see the king. Among the visitors who waited in camps outside Harṣa's *rājakula* were feudatory chiefs, the rulers and envoys of other countries, common people and ascetics.[9]

The *rājakula* was the king's palace. In it there could be three, four or even seven enclosures. Bāṇa saw Harṣa after passing through three of them.[10] Candrāpiḍa had to pass through seven to see his father on his return from the teacher's house.[11] The first enclosure of Harṣa's *rājakula* was meant for the king's personal elephants and horses.[12] A part of it consisted of the *alinda*, which

---

1 ibid.
2 ibid., p. 52.
3 ibid.
4 ibid.
5 See below
6 *HC*, p. 57.
7 See below
8 *HC*, II. pp. 58-61.
9 ibid., p. 60.
10 ibid., p. 69.
11 *Kād.*, pp. 179-180.
12 *HC*, II, pp. 62-64.

may have been, as Dr. Agrawala suggests, a sort of waiting room where the king's visitors were offered refreshments.[1]

In the second enclosure there was big hall known as the *vahyāsthānamaṇḍapa* or the *mahāsthānamaṇḍapa*, i. e., the king's outer court.[2] It was known as *vāhya* in contradistinction to another *maṇḍapa* known as the *bhuktāsthāna*, where the king met a few select people after his luncheon. In the *Harṣacarita*, people waiting outside Harṣa's *rājakula* are represented as asking the doorkeeper, "Good Sir, will it be to-day ? Will the great lord give an audience in the hall after he has dined, or will he come out into the outer court?"[3] Bāṇa first met Harṣa in the *bhuktāsthānamaṇḍapa*.[4] The two *maṇḍapas* may respectively, as pointed out by Dr. Agrawala, correspond to the *Diwan-e-ām* and the *Diwan-e-khās* of the Mughal days.[5] According to the *Kādambarī* the *adhikaraṇamaṇḍapa*, i. e., the site of the judicial court was also in the second enclosure[6].

The portion of *rājakula* which lay behind the *vāhyāsthāna-maṇḍapa* was known as *dhavalagṛha* or the white house. It was designed for the personal and private use of the king. Prabhākaravardhana's *dhavalagṛha* was a two-storeyed building, with stair cases on both sides.[7] The king and the members of the harem lived in the upper storey, which had three main apartments the *prāgīvaka*, *saudha*, and *vāsagṛha*, all built on the front side. *Prāgīvaka* was the central hall; *saudha* was on its one side and *vāsagṛha* on the other.[8] *Prāgīvaka* was perhaps the drawing room, with all its doors covered with curtains. Female relatives coming to enquire after Prabhākaravardhan's health occupied the *prāgīvaka*.[9] *Saudha* was purely the ladies' apartment.[10] *Vāsagṛha* literally means the dwelling

---

[1] *HC*, IV, p. 142; *HCSA*, p. 204.
[2] *HC*, V, p. 172; VII, p. 214.
[3] ibid., II, p. 60.
[4] See p. 318 No. 10. *Bhuktāsthāna* was also known as प्रदोषास्थान *HC*, VI, p. 195; *HCSA*, p. 205.
[5] *HCSA*, p. 38.
[6] *Kād.*, p. 171.
[7] *HC*, V, pp. 155-159.
[8] *HCSA*, p. 208.
[9] *HC*, V, p. 155. According to Dr. V. S. Agrawal the *pragīvaka* was so called of its situation on the *grīvāsthāna* of the *dhavalagṛha*—*HCSA*, p. 208.
[10] *HC*, IV, p. 127; *HCSA*, p. 208.

house. A part of it was the sleeping chamber. Its walls were decorated with fine looking paintings.[1] Facing the front side was *candrasālā* or the moon-house which was so called because of its being on the topmost storey where the rays of the moon filled the room.[2] On the two remaining sides connecting the *candraśālā* and the front portion were the two *praśādakukṣīs* where the king had music and dancing concerts.[3]

The ground floor of the *dhavalagṛha* had an open quadrangle in the centre.[4] On all its sides there were rooms and long corridors.[5] *Bhuktāsthānamaṇḍapa* was situated somewhere near the *catuśaśālā*. The *āyudhāgara*, i. e., the house for storing the arms, also situated within this area.[6]

Besides the above apartments for the king's personal use we learn of many more in the *Kādambarī*. For instance, it refers to the *vyāyāmabhūmi*[7], *snānagṛha*[8], *aṅgarāgaśālā* or *vilepanabhūmi*[9], *devagṛha*[10] and *āhāramaṇḍapa*.[11] One chief feature of royal residence was a deep reservoir or *dīrghikā*.[12] Many *krīḍāvāpīs*, built within the ditch, looking beautiful with the swimming swans and blooming lotuses captivated the hearts of onlookers.[13] Pleasure-gardens were especially meant for summer season. *Kadalīvana*, perhaps an arbor of plantains, was a very common feature of royal harems as it is referred to by Harṣa, Bāṇa and Rājaśekhara among others.

An idea of the houses allotted to the princes and the princesses can be had from the *Kādambarī*. Candrāpīḍa's house is said to have consisted of two enclosures, the outer one known as *śrīmaṇḍapa* and the inner one as the *śayanatala*. The former was used like the king's *vahayāsthānamaṇḍapa* and the other was meant for the prince's private use consisting of the rooms for bathing,

---

[1] *HC*, IV, p. 127; *VSB*, Act I, p. 72.

[2] *HC*, IV, p. 127.

[3] *HCSA*, pp. 92, 208

[4] Bāṇa uses the term संजवनं for the चतुःशाला। The commentator Śaṅkara explains संजवनं चतुःशाला। *HC*, V, p. 155. See also *VSB*, Act II, p. 83.

[5] *HCSA*, p. 208.

[6 to 11] *Kād.*, pp. 169, 30, 31, 33, 34.

[12] *Kād. Ek Sāṅskṛtika Adhyayana* p. 372.

[13] *HC*, IV, p. 142.

dressing, dining[1], etc. Princess Kādambarī's palace was built after the last (i. e., the 7th) enclosure of the Gandharvakula's *rājakula*.[2] It was provided with all sorts of luxuries and facilities. Its pavement was studded with gems; arrangements were made for many pastimes such as swinging, ball-playing and music.[3] Here she had also her cosmetics and pets.[4] To reach her palace one had to pass through a long lane, guarded by armed women on both the sides.[5] *Srīmaṇḍapa* also known as *āsthanamaṇḍapa* was the name of its outer enclosure.[6] Kādambarī first met Candrāpīḍa in her *śrīmaṇḍapa*. *Saudha* was the name of the inner enclosure corresponding to the *śayanagṛha* of the prince's palace.[7]

The most notable part of Kādambarī's palace was the *pramadavana* consisting of the *krīḍāparvata*, i. e., the pleasure hill[8] and the *himagṛha* or the snow-house.[9] On the *krīḍāparvata* there was also a *maṇi-veśma* or the house of gems.[10] It consisted of all the requisites of hospitality. *Himagṛha* was situated in the centre of *pramadavana* and was surrounded with the plantain-grove. It was covered with the lotus-leaves on all its sides.[11] Its chief features described by Bāṇa were *gṛhanadīs* or house-rivers[12]; *paṅkaja-śayana* or the lotus-beds,[13] *sphaṭikabhavana* or the crystal-house;[14] *dhārāgṛha* or the fountains[15], *yantramayūras* or the mechanised peacocks[16], *parṇaśāla* or the cottage of leaves[17], *kāñcana-kamalanikās* or the golden-lilies[18], *gandhodakakūpa* or the well of fragrant water[19]; *māyāmegha* or the artificial clouds[20], *vāpikās* or the reservoirs [21], *yantra-vṛkṣa* or the artificial trees[22], *yantraśakuni* or the artificial birds[23], *kusumadāmadolā* or the swing of flowers[24], the gold-pitchers filled with lotuses[25], the flower-umbrellas[26], a *maṇḍapikā* (a small shelter) made of the lotus stalks and girded with a small canal of the camphor water[27], the dolls of snow and camphor[28] and many other similar artifices to keep the atmosphere cool on all sides.[29]

The Rajyasabha

Śukra gives a detailed description of a *rājyasabhā* and the way it was constructed. Here the king discussed various matters with

---

1 to 4 *Kād.*, pp. 191, 331, 333-6.

5 to 16 ibid., pp. 337, 354, 370, 371, 379, 381.

17 to 28 ibid., p. 381, 382 & 384.

29 Bāṇa's might have been an exaggerated description. But that the *Himagṛhas* were actually built can be seen also from the

his friends, brothers, sons, relatives and others.[1] The royal throne was placed in the centre of the western half of the meeting hall. King's body-guards and the retinue sat to his right and left.[2] Among his relatives the sons, grandsons, brothers, nephews and daughter's sons had a seat at his back, proceeding from the right towards the left with the above order.[3] Uncles and other superiors of the family, and commanders were to sit in the front at the right hand moving towards the east on separate seats.[4] Superiors in the family of a maternal grand-father, ministers, cognate relations, fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law and officers were to sit in the front on the left side (moving towards the east).[5] The sons-in-law and sister's husband occupied the adjacent seats on the left and right respectively. One's own equal sat near the king or occupied half his seat.[6] King's preceptors, like his father, were to sit on the same kind of good seat. On both sides and in the front sat the clerks, and the scribes at the back of the ministers.[7] Servants sat at the back of all. The two *svarṇadaṇḍadharas* or the bearers of golden staff taught people coming before the king the methods of salutation, etc. and pointed out the seats they were to take.[8]

It is difficult, however, to maintain that this very scheme was followed in every state and every century. There must have been variations. But a general idea of the way the things were arranged can be had from Śukra, and we can supplement the information he supplies from other sources. Abu Zaid (A. D. 916), for instance, noticed that Indian princes when they held a court allowed their women to attend it.[9] This may have been true of the courts he saw.

According to Yuan Chwang who visited India in the 7th century, the dais of some *rājās* was exceedingly wide and high, and dotted with small pearls. What is called the *siṁhāsana* or the 'Lion's Seat', i. e., the actual throne, was covered with fine cloth and mounted by jewelled footstool. The ordinary officers according to their fancy covered the frames of their seats in different fashions and adorned them with precious substances.[10] Bāṇa's

---

Upamitibhavaprapaṁcākathā, which also gives a similar description of a *Himagrha*; *UBPK*, pp. 503-504.

1 to 5 *SNS*, I, 351-355.

6 to 8 ibid., I, 356 358, 359.

9 *ED*, I, p. 11.

10 Watters, I, pp. 147-8.

account of Harṣa in the *bhuktāsthānamaṇḍapa* shows the king sitting on a throne of a stone clear like a pearl, resting the weight of his body on his arms placed at the end of the seat and placing his left foot on a large and costly footstool made of saphires and girt with a band of rubies.[1] Fair-hands stood near him, special favourites were seated, and nobles dressed in the best of their attires, wearing the costliest of ornaments and exuding fragrance made obeisance to their overlord.

Visitors' entrance in the royal court was not unrestricted. The doorkeepers carried a visitor to the king after receiving his permission. All royal servants and nobles entered the royal presence with due etiquette. Mādhavagupta and Kumāragupta, the two sons of Mālavarāja, who were appointed as companions to Rājyavardhana and Harṣavardhana, prostrated themselves before Prabhākaravardhana, touching the ground with their heads and four limbs.[2] Harṣa's commander of elephants, Skandagupta, paid homage to his master by saluting from far, leaning both hands upon the ground and touching it with his head.[3] Grahavarman's betel-bearer Pārijātaka outstretched and put his head on the ground, as soon as he heard Prabhākaravardhana's voice.[4] Harṣa's chamberlain informed his master of Haṁsavega's arrival by resting his both hands on the ground.[5] Haṁsavega also bowed before the king by touching the ground with his limbs.[6] On reaching nearer he again rubbed his forehead on the king's footstool and was patted on his back by Harṣa.[7] In the *Kādambarī* we found the portress bowing her head to receive the king's order and putting her hands and knees on the ground.[8]

We cannot help wishing that our information on urban life in general was equally elaborate. But as it is not we have to content ourselves first by giving the estimate of Indian life by an intelligent foreigner and then adding a few words of our own.

---

1 *HC*, II, pp. 70, 72.
2 *Kād.*, IV, pp. 138, 140.
3 *HC*, VI, p. 197.
4 ibid., IV, p. 144.
5 ibid., VII, p. 214.
6 ibid.
7 ibid.
8 *Kād.*, p. 16.

For the habits and character of people in the 7th century, urban as well as rural, as it was probably, we have the testimony of Yuan Chwang who described the Indians as people of hasty and irresolute temperament, but of pure moral principles. They would not take anything wrongfully and would yield more than fairness required. They feared the retribution for sins in other lives, and made light of what conduct produced in this life. They did not practise deceit and kept their sworn obligations. They lived together on good terms and the criminal class was small.[1] Bāṇa's description of the people of Ujjayinī is idealistic. He describes them as honest, brave, modest, hospitable, bounteous, compassionate, highly religious-minded and institutors of the works of public utility. Their moral character was good.[2] They knew all scripts, loved the Vedas, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇas and the *Bṛhatkathā*.[3] But even in this peotic description one can see a good deal of truth and can be sure at least of the things the Indians valued in life.

General Assessment

With all this material before us we can institute a few comparisons with our present conditions. The picture of rural fields, producing most of our staple crops, ponds, lakes, Persian wheels and irrigation channels, cowdung collected for fuel, cattle returning in the evening from their pastures is familiar enough even now to a lover of the country-side. But the population being sparse the pressure on land was less than it is present. Of *vanagrāmas* too many exist at present. Their number in the period under discussion must have been greater. The people were becoming caste-conscious, and the life of the lower classes was far from enviable.

In the capital towns the princes lived a life of luxury, and set the fashion for others. The life of a warrior was respectable because his services were needed by the society. It was probably remunerative, too. Śaśāṇka was a soldier. Harṣa began as a prince of the state of Thaneshwar. Their patronage of arts and literature also did some good. But a great service to society was perhaps performed by the *agrahāras* of Brāhmaṇa families and

---

[1] Watters, I, p. 171.
[2] *Kād.*, p. 101.
[3] ibid., p. 102.

monastic retreats of Buddhist monk scholars like Divākaramitra. But we do not know much about them and the villages in which they lived because most of the literature that has survived was written at the royal courts and by writers who had become accustomed to city; and it is this sophisticated attitude towards life that is reflected in the use of the words *nāgara* and *pāmara* or *gaṅvār* (literally) respectively for cultured and uncultured people of our country.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSION

THE PERIOD of North Indian history from A.D. 600 to 1000 followed what is known as the Classical Age of India and ended with the fateful year in which Mahmud of Ghazna led his first expedition into India, an expedition followed by successive raids opening the way for the final subjugation of North India by the Turks. The period under review thus intervenes between the two extremes, the years of our greatest glory and the year heralding our political downfall. Politically Northern India was, during this period, split up into a number of independent states warring against each other to unite Āryavarta under a *cakravartin*, or to say, for the political restoration of the country. We have briefly referred to this in the first chapter. Here we shall review the social side of the picture, marking the salient changes which took place during this period.

As a rule no society is static, it changes according to the nature of challenges it has to respond to, and North Indian society of the period we are dealing with was also no exception to this natural law. In their attempts to meet the great challenges to Indian culture caused by the irruptions of the Hūṇas, Gurjaras, probably also Tibetans and the Arabs, the Indian leaders introduced a number of social and religious changes. The orthodox section with its attachment to the traditional rites and customs tried to shut out new influences by tightening the bonds of the caste system, introducing stricter marriage rules, extending the doctrine of impurity to the contact with foreigners and introducing a list of *kalivarjyas*, i. e., the prohibitions of the *Kali* age.[1] Like the mediaeval church of Europe the Brāhmaṇas enlisted also the support of orthodox Kṣatriya families in their fight against the new heresies and heretical practices. In their view the foremost duty of a king

---

[1] "It is a recognised element of national psychology that where a society is on the defence it cherishes every inherited tradition and holds fast to all things good and bad which it has inherited. Conservatism becomes a national virtue; the maintenance of what has been a point of national honour"—K. M. Panikkar, *Origin and Evolution of Kingship in India*, pp. 153-4.

was to keep the castes confined to their respective duties; and that the dictum was actually translated into practice is evident from the epigraphs of many mighty rulers.[1]

But at the same time we find also another tendency, which is more liberal, in its attitude. Instead of fighting against *varṇa-saṅkaratva*, caused by the irruptions of the Tibetans, the Chinese, the Hūṇas and the Arabs, it took the struggle against barbarism to a higher plane. It tried to save Ārayan culture, not by fighting against foreign elements, but by the conversion of foreign elements into Indian, with the touch of its wand of mystic thought and philosophy. Applying once again the old cultural conception of *varṇa*, it tried to bring in and assimilate every section that had reached India. In that scheme, there was a place for everyone.[2] Thus from the 7th cen. onwards we have two currents flowing simultaneously as it were. If one was of traditionalism and rigidity, the other was of a dynamic and progressive character and we find that both the tendencies were operative in various spheres of North Indian society.

Traditionalism and Rigidity

The orthodox section during this period accepted heredity instead of culture as the deciding factor in the determination of caste. *Varṇa* and *jāti* began to be regarded as practically synonymous, with the result that we soon had more than four original castes and these subcastes again were sub-divided into numerous sub-sections.[3] The Āryāvarta consciousness among these people was kept alive not by the old slogan cf *kṛṇvanto viśvamāryam* but by saying that a country where the *varṇāśramadharma* did not prevail, was a Mleccha-deśa.[4]

The caste rules gradually got rigid. Even an unlettered Brāhmaṇa, or one who had not undergone the prescribed rites considered himself as entitled to honour on account of his superior birth.[5] An orthodox Brāhmaṇa abstained from interdining so that he might maintain his ceremonial purity.[6] A ban was imposed

---

1 See Chap. III, p. 45.
2 See above the account of Kṣatriya caste in Chapter III.
3 See Chapter III.
4 *Vṛddhaviṣṇu S.*, Chap. 84, v. 4.
5 *HC*, I, p. 11; *Medhātithi on Manu*, IX. 317.
6 See above Chapter III, pp. 41-2.

on sea voyage with the same objective. The areas within which a Brāhmaṇa could live were fixed and care was taken to see that a Hindu did not enter the country of the Turks.[1] And if any one took to the occupation which was not allowed to his caste, he was ragarded by the orthodox leaders to have committed a sin or crime, considered only a little less heinous than the crime of theft.[2]

Rulers like Prabhākaravardhana, Harṣa, Harivarman, Kharagraha II and Devapāla of Bengal tried to stop mixture of castes by means of royal decrees.[3] Even the Śūdras had their notions of caste-superiority and the occupational groups were developing a sense of caste rigidity. The Kāyasthas, who were originally professional writers, now formed a caste of their own, which did not change with the change of occupation. Alberuni's account of various guilds, mainly occupational in character, shows that each occupational caste was an independent social unit.[4]

The orthodox section preferred to marry within their own castes. They prohibited intermarriages. The girl's age limit for marriage was lowered. *Pardā* system became stricter. *Satī*, of which instances before the seventh century are rare, was now on the increase and we have even an instance of *jauhar* in the reign of King Dāhir of Sind.[5] The same emphasis on chastity was responsible for the stoppage of the practice of *niyoga*.[6] Religion became the dominating social factor even in such elementary matters as food and drink, bathing and clothing, town and village planning, etc.[7] Communities which had for centuries consumed meat gave it up under the influence of Jainism. Those who had been fighters all along now took to the peaceful avocation of traders. Even agriculture was given up by certain sections,[8] so that we find a sort of political as well as economic imbalance towards the end of our period. The number of fighters decreased, trade became the fashionable profession for Vaiśyas and Jain converts, and manual labour was not unoften associated with loss of social distinction.

---

1 Sachau, II, p. 135.
2 ibid., p. 137.
3 See above p. 327, No. I
4 See Chapter III, p. 60.
5 *Cacanāmāh*, pp. 153-4.
6 See above Chapter II, p. 19
7 Details are given above in Chapters IX to XI.
8 See above Chapter III, pp. 50-51.

In the field of religion we come to the revivalism of Kumārila who asked people to look back to the Vedas and specially to Vedic ritualism. If tradition be believed, Kumārila, the Mimāṅsist, was not only dogmatic but also fanatical in some of his views. Even the sections of Jainism, which starts with the principle of *syādvāda* and sees some truth in every position, become dogmatic enough to condemn the other Jaina schools in the severest terms.[1] Obviously this was a sign of thought getting into grooves and revolving round certain accepted positions; and how far the tendency could go can be seen from the remarks of Alberuni. "The Hindus believe," he writes," that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no king like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs". He further writes, "for their ancestors were not so narrow-minded as the present generation."[2]

Dynamic and Progressive Attitude

But along with this conservatism we find the influence of the dynamic and progressive forces also. Assimilation and absorption both went on simultaneously. Brāhmaṇism continued to flourish but gradually and sometimes even imperceptibly changed into modern Hinduism. This had to be if Hinduism was to assimilate the diverse elements of population, foreign as well as indigenous, that had got into it. As a result, many of the foreign races and non-Āryan tribes were admitted into the Hindufold.[3] The Magian Brāhmaṇas or Bhojakas were of foreign race. Many new communities which are known to us as Rajputs were also recognised as Kṣatriyas during this period and similar might have been the case with some communities which entered the fold of Vaiśyas. Foreign elements which could not be put in any of the three higher classes were naturally classed as Śūdras. When Hūṇas began to intermarry with high class Brāhmaṇas or Kṣatriyas, they were obviously on the way to Brāhmaṇahood or Kṣatriyahood themselves.[4]

---

[1] Siddharṣi Śūri who himself was a Śvetāmbara Jaina counts the Digambaras among the non-Jaina heretical sects.—*UBPK* (Jacobi's edition), p. 547.

[2] Sachau, I., pp. 22-3.

[3] See our account of the Kṣatriyas and the depressed classes in Chapter III above.

[4] Aṭapur Inscription of Śaktikumāra of v. s. 1034—*IA*, XXX, p. 193.

Even orthodox section had to recognise some of these changes. Medhātithi, for instance, stated that one ruling with the kingly qualities was a lawful king whether he be a Kṣatriya or not. He was thus recognising an actual fact, for we have instances of rulers belonging to all the four castes.[1] Nor could these castes strictly follow the Smṛti regulations. There were Brāhmaṇa warriors and cultivators, and Kṣatriya traders and agriculturists. Vaiśyas practically abandoned their age-long profession of cattle-rearing and tilling the soil. The Śūdras became tillers of soil and sometimes even traders.[2]

Tāntrism tried, in its own way, to get rid of the growing rigidity. It recognised no caste gradations and the caste taboos in matters of food, drink, religion and sexual relations. The Tāntrik movements of the Bhāgavatas, Śāktas, Śaivas, Sauras etc. mostly led by the dissident Brāhmaṇas excommunicated by the orthodox leaders, succeeded in absorbing even non-Āryans and casting them into the Hindu mould of life.[3] The success of these Tāntrik movements can easily be assessed by the fact that from about the end of the 8th century onwards, the Purāṇas also began to recognise the Tāntrik authority on religious matters. Some of the Purāṇas even reflect on the spirit of harmony between the Vedas and the Tāntrik rites.[4]

The same conflict between conservatism and Hindu dynamism can be seen in a large number of rules laid down as the codes of expiation for various crimes. The origin of these laws may be traced to the liberal policy of the Hindu revolutionary reformers, who also must have been, in their time, opposed by their orthodox adversaries. Alberuni refers, for instance, to two different ways in which the Hindus behaved towards the Hindu prisoners of war who, on falling into the Muslim hands, were transported to

---

[1] See Chapter III, pp. 39, 46, 47, 53 & 54 above.
[2] ibid., p. 54.
[3] *Kūrma Purāṇa*, Chap. XVI, pp. 184-5.
[4] देवदेव उवाच——

पौरुषं सूक्तमास्थाय ये यजन्ति द्विजाशुमाना।
ते मां प्राप्स्यन्ति सततं संहिताध्ययेन तु॥१०॥
अलाभे वेदशास्त्राणां पन्चरात्रवेदितेन हि।
मार्गेण मां यजन्ते ये ते मां प्राप्स्यन्ति मानवाः॥११॥

Vārāha Purāṇa, Chap. 66.

the Muslim countries but later on, escaping to their own land, wanted to return to their old religion. He was, for instance, repeatedly told that when Hindu slaves (in Muslim countries) escaped and returned to their country and religion, the Hindus ordered that they should fast by way of expiation, then they buried them in the dung, stale, and milk of cows for a certain number of days, till they got into a state of fermentation. Then they dragged them out of dirt and gave them similar dirt to eat, and more of the like. This was a comparatively liberal attitude. But he was told also of the orthodox attitude; when he asked the Brāhmaṇas if it was true that a Brāhmaṇa could be taken back after expiation they denied it, and maintained that there was no expiation possible for such an individual and that he was never allowed to return into those conditions of life in which he was before he was carried off as a prisoner. Such an expiation was said to be impossible, for if a Brāhmaṇa ate even in the house of a Śūdra for sundry days he was expelled from his caste and could never regain it.[1]

Similarly, though orthodoxy in general would have been against the rehabilitation of abducted women, a flexible attitude regarding women ravished by the Mlecchas is voiced in the Dharmaśāstra. Some of the Smṛtis, notably *Atri*[2], *Parāśara*[3] and *Devala*[4], made also provision for their restoration to the society. *Agni Purāṇa* also asserted that a woman forcibly ravished by a man or consenting to the proposals of a man under restraint, was not polluted thereby. After resecuring her catamania, she was again to be declared as pure.[5] And how these liberal forces were trying to influence the people can be seen in the further remarks of the *Agni Purāṇa* that "the gods first enjoy the women, then the Moon god, after them the Gandharvas, subsequently by the Fire-god and last of all the mortals; hence they can never be polluted".[6] There were also the social reformers like Bāṇa, the *śrotriya*, and the Buddhist and Tāntrik teachers to raise a voice against the evil of *satī*.[7] Nor were people lacking to criticise the institution of

---

[1] Sachau, II, p. 163.
[2] *Atri Saṁhitā*, vv. 197-8 (*SS*, p. 18); *Atri S.*, Chap. V, vv. 2-3 (*SS*, p. 30).
[3] X. 23-25.
[4] vv. I ff.
[5] Chap. 165, vv. 6-7.
[6] ibid., v. 19; *Atri S.*, Chap. V, v. 28. [7] See Chap. II, p. 21 above.

deva-dāsī[1].

In the field of religion, we find a two-fold development. The various philosophical and religious systems gradually stand out, almost sharply differentiated from each other with the result that we now and then find instances of some persecutions. But this persecution too was of the mildest variety, if we compare it with the persecutions in Europe. The angularities of the systems could generally be effaced, because the Indians had very well realised the futility of wrangling, and recognised that every religion served as a way to perfection.[2] As a result of this fairly general tendency, Buddha and Ṛṣabhadeva were accepted as incarnations of Viṣṇu in Hinduism. Rāma and Kṛṣṇa became the *śalākā-puruṣas* of the Jains.[3]

The process of assimilation and absorption in the religious activities became most active with the growing popularity of Śāktism and Tāntrism. The Purāṇic goddess Durgā appears to have absorbed within her fold all local, indigenous and tribal goddesses of India. Cāmuṇḍā with her terrific features was a non-Āryan goddess. Kātyāyanī and Kauśikī, as suggested by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, were the tribal goddesses of the Kātyas and the Kauśikas, respectively.[4] Vindhyavāsinī was the tutelary goddess of the Śabaras, Pulindas and the Kirātas, inhabiting the Vindhya

---

[1] From Alberuni's account of prostitution in India it seems that Brāhmaṇas were the chief class that had led the crusade against the courtesans in temples. He states : "The fault, however, in this lies with the kings, not with the nation. But for this, no Brāhmaṇa or priest would suffer in their idol-temples the women who sing, dance and play." (Sachau, II, p. 157). And the statement of Alberuni becomes more credible when we see Jojaladeva about a century after Alberuni, threatening, in his inscription of v. s. 1147, the Brāhmaṇas, ascetics, Jain monks, etc., with punishment, if they tried to interfere with the usual dancing of the courtesans in the temples and calling upon his successors to stick to the procedure that he was laying down (Sadadi and Nāḍol Inscription, *EI*, XI, p. 28). In other provinces of India, too, there must have been movements like this.

[2] The Jaina author Siddharṣi Sūri declares the essential unity underlying all faiths and systems of philosophy in words दर्शनं व्यापकत्वेन न विवादोऽस्ति तैःसह ॥ See *UBPK*, VIII, vv. 895-900.

[3] See the *Triṣaṣṭhīśalākāpuruṣa-carita* of Hemacandra (GOS, 4 Vols.).

[4] See Chapter V. p. 166 above.

forests.[1] The Hindu goddess Tārā originally belonged to the Buddhist pantheon and Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist god, is sometimes believed to be the Buddhist form of the Hindu god Kārttikeya.[2] In Vajrayāna there was a place for every Hindu god and goddess such as Mahākāla, Gaṇapati, Sarasvatī, the Digpālas, Navagrahas, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kārttikeya, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, etc.[3] Tāntrism thus included all that was best in Buddhism, Jainism and even tribal people's beliefs, and succeeded to a great length in offering an equal opportunity for spiritual uplift to all, the *dvijas*, *Śūdras*, excommunicated *dvijas* and even many foreigners. In Tāntrism thus there was an equal opportunity and scope of spiritual satisfaction to all, cultured as well as non-cultured.

Abstract thinking led to the doctrines of Monism and Monotheism. But their practical and dynamic application led to the evolution of the doctrine of *bhakti* which was primarily based on the principles of love and personal God. Even Śaṅkara, the monist, is believed to have developed a higher form of Brāhmaṇical religion known by the name of the *pañcāyatana pūjā* which recognised the combined worship of all the main divinities, particularly Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa and Śakti. The germs of the *bhakti* system have been traced to the Upaniṣadas. But its first systematic exposition, perhaps, is to be found in the Bhagvadgītā with its insistence on the surrender of one's all to god.[4] In the Purāṇas, *bhakti* is a well recognised system; and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, composed about the sixth century A. D., is rightly regarded as one of the primary sources of the *bhakti* movement in India. Devotion to Viṣṇu is the main theme there, but not unoften the worship of Śiva is highly commended. Later on eclectism goes even further.[5]

Tīrthayātrās were also an expression of the same dynamic and progressive outlook. Hindus, Buddhists and Jains all believed in the efficacy of *tīrthayātrās*.[6] Incidentally, the institution

---

[1] ibid., p. 164.
[2] Dr. Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*.
[3] ibid.
[4] ये तु सर्वाणि कार्माणि मयि संन्यस्य मत्पराः।
अनन्येनैव योगेन मां ध्यायन्त उपासते॥
तेषामहं समुद्धर्ता मृत्युसंसारसागरात्।
भवामि नचिरात्पार्थ मय्यावेशित चेतसाम्॥ Chap. XII, vv. 6-7.
[5] See Chapter on Religion above.
[6] See Chapter VII above.

made the people realise that India is culturally one and offered them the chance of acquiring a wide outlook by travelling to distant places of pilgrimage and exchanging views and news in course of their long journeys.

An Estimate

It is this two-fold character of Indian society, conservative in some directions and dynamic in others, which has made it difficult to assess its permanent contribution to Indian culture. Those who keep only the conservative and darker side in view argue that, in this period, the increasing spirit of caste rigidity divided the Indians into numerous small communal groups defeating thereby the cause of national unity; ethically great religions like Buddhism and Jainism lost their dominant positions and became confined to particular regions; too much of luxury undermined national character; the rise of Tāntrik cults brought corruption in its wake everywhere; literature became less creative; and the era of the original Smṛtis was passing away, ushering in the age of commentaries.[1] To such a criticism we can reply by saying that the process of the decline of Buddhism had started much before the advent of our period. The era of Brāhmaṇical revival, which had started in the Classical Age, was still going on with a remarkably synthetic attitude, with the result that Buddhism was gradually but completely absorbed. The Buddhists, too, were not unaware of this fact. They felt the pressing need of introducing Tāntrik elements into their creed, with a view to increasing its popular appeal. Vajrayāna which was basically a further development of Mahāyāna Buddhism, based on the fundamental principles of *karuṇā* and *prajñā*, became more elastic and catholic in its attitude by the adoption of Tāntrik elements, and in this way it succeeded in extending India's cultural frontiers. It may not even be true that true Tāntrism brought corruption in both Buddhism as well as Hinduism, because most of the Tāntrik texts being compiled in the *sandhābhāṣā* have not yet been correctly interpreted. Its *sādhanā* was confined to select groups. Therefore even if its influence was unwholesome, it may not have affected the society as a whole. The *yoga-paddhati* forms a very important element in Tāntrism and its value is now being recognised both in the East and the West.

---

[1] Dr. R. C. Majumdar's view in *AIK*, Introduction, p. xxxvi.

As regards Jainism, Haribhadra Sūri heralded the era of reformation in his creed by eradicating the corrupt practices of the *caityavāsins* and establishing the true religion.[1] The work begun by him was carried further by his two well-known disciples Udyotana Sūri and Siddharṣi Sūri. It was largely due to the reformative tendencies of these Jaina teachers that Jainism flourished more and more from the ninth century onwards and had still to see its best days in the succeeding centuries.

With the Hindu commentaries on Dharmaśāstra there is no harking back to the past. They did what the old Smṛtis had been doing. Smṛti commentators, at times reinterpreted the old traditions in a way that suited the changing times. Medhātithi, for instance, differed from the orthodox interpretation of the *Manu Smṛti* at many places. *Devala Smṛti* made provision for the restoration to Hindufold of the women ravished by the Mlecchas, and of the readmission into the Hindufold of men captured and enslaved by Muslims. Many new Smṛti chapters were also added to the extant Purāṇas.[2] Further as soon as the social emergency created by the Arab raids was over, attempts were again made to revive the old *varṇa* conception based on *guṇa* and *karma*.[3]

In the field of the intellectual activities the great Gupta culture continued to live on even in the succeeding centuries and India produced many good works of secular, scientific and philosophic literature of which we can deservedly be proud. Though attention was paid more to words and expressions than to the actual matter and narrative as time went on, Sanskrit on the whole flourished during the period we deal with, and we can speak of the great names of Bāṇa, Harṣavardhana, Māgha, Bhavabhūti and Rājaśekhara as its devotees. A vast and valuable literature on poetics grew up. The evolution of vernacular literature was another great creative feature of the age. The rulers themselves were not only the authors of good literature but they also promoted the learning and sciences among their subjects by patronising *paṇḍits* and scientists, granting *agrahāra* lands and founding

---

[1] The corrupt practices of the *caityavāsins* are referred to by Haribhadra Sūri in the *Sambodhaprakaraṇa*, vv. 27, 34, 46-49, 61, 63-68.

[2] See Appendix No. V.

[3] See Chapter III, pp. 46 & 50 above.

new seats of education. Nālandā and Valabhī, the great seats of learning, reached the period of their greatest prosperity in the post-Gupta period. A new seat of learning at Vikramaśīla was founded in the 8th century A. D.; and Indian *paṇḍits* rendered valuable service by carrying Indian culture to such distant lands as Tibet, China and Korea and thus we notice a remarkable extension of India's cultural dominion. Indian sciences also, during the period, went beyond the Indian frontiers through the Arab merchants.[1]

In the domain of philosophical activity the age saw the great Brāhmaṇical philosophers like Kumārila, Śaṅkara and Vācaspati Miśra. Buddhism, though on its way to decline, was intellectually active enough. Nālandā, Valabhī and Vikramaśīla produced many reputed Buddhist philosophers and authors mentioned above. Many new treatises on Mahāyāna philosophy were written and commentaries on the philosophical works of many old and new Buddhist teachers were prepared.

As a result of Kumārila's staunch support to the Karmamīmāṅsā system, Vedic rites were performed in the 7th and 8th centuries. Purāṇic Hinduism, on the other hand, with a stress on its essential features of *Śrāddhas*, gifts, fasts, pilgrimages, idol worship, temple building, etc. was also gaining ground. Śiva, Viṣṇu and Devī were the most popular Hindu divinities each developing a sect of its own and having a group of numerous other gods and goddesses affiliated to the major cults. Splendid edifices were built in honour of the major divinities.

In secular matters such as food and drinks, cosmetics, dress and ornaments, and fairs, feasts and festivals, the old Gupta culture seems to live on. Food was vegetarian as well as non-vegetarian. Onions and garlic were not the items of common use. Milk and milk-products were used in abundance. While Brāhmaṇas generally abstained from liquors, there was no such restriction in the case of others. Their excessive use no doubt was regarded as bad.

---

[1] Dr. Zimmer in his book *Hindu Medicine* (p. 61) writes that "under the patronage of Khalif Almanṣur in the 7th century A. D. the compilations of Caraka and Suśruta were translated into Arabic; Caraka's name occurs in the Latin translations of Avicenna, Rhazes, and Serapion. In addition, some sixteen other works on Hindu medicine were known to the Arabs at the time of the Muslim historian, Fihrist (800 A. D.)".

The State provided irrigational facilities to the cultivators and recognised the institution of guilds in case of artisans. People in urban areas generally lived an affluent life wearing fine clothes and ornaments of different designs. The country people lived a simple life even as nowadays. There were frequent seasons and occasions for fairs, feasts and festivals.

Thus it was a period of transition in many respects. Indian society advanced in some spheres, for instance, in philosophic thinking and *yoga*. In others the progress already attained was maintained. The position of women was perhaps neither worse nor better than before. Buddhism was declining, but its good elements were being, to a great extent, retained by Hinduism and Jainism. In the sphere of caste system, we find a retrogressive tendency, which, however, is checked by many counter-currents and reformist movements. Muslim raids of the eighth century led to unnecessary rigidity in certain directions. But these effects would have passed away, but for the catastrophe that overtook India in the form of Mahmud Gaznavi's invasions. They reinforced probably every conservative tendency and for a while most Hindus saw security in closing up the ranks defining sharply their dogmas. The old period was obviously passing away giving way to the medieval, with its insistence on dogma and deference to authority. The cross-roads had been reached; but from what followed after A. D. 1000 it appears that large sections of society were already on the wrong track and heading towards a catastrophe which was far from the avoidable. If a society may be regarded as the maker of its own destiny, the foundations of that destiny had largely been laid in the latter half of our period.

APPENDIX I

Sixty-Four Kalas

हारिण्यश्चटुलतरा बहुलतरङ्गाश्च निम्नगामिन्यः।
नद्य इव जलधिमध्ये वेश्याहृदये कलाश्चतुःषष्टिः॥
वेशकला नृत्यकला गीतकला वक्रवीक्षणकला च।
कामपरिज्ञानकला ग्रहणकला मित्रवन्चनकला च॥
पानकला केलिकला सुरतकलालिङ्गनान्तरकला च।
चुम्बनकला परकला निर्लज्जावेगसंभ्रमकला च॥
ईर्ष्याकलिकेलिकला रुदितकला मानसंक्षयकला च।
स्वेदभ्रमकम्पकला पुनरेकान्तप्रसाधनकला च॥
नेत्रनिमीलन निःसहनिस्पन्दकला मृतोपमकला च।
विरहासहरागकला कोपप्रतिषेधनिश्चयकला च॥
निजजननीकलहकला सदगृहगमनोत्सवेक्षणकला च।
हरणकला जातिकला केलिकला चौरपार्थिवकला च॥
गौखशैथिल्यकला निष्कारणदोषभाषणकला च॥
शूलकलाऽभ्यङ्गकला निद्राक्षिरजस्वलाम्बरकला च॥
रूक्षकलातीक्ष्णकला गलहस्त—गृहार्गलार्पणकला च।
संत्यक्ताकामुकाहृति दर्शनयात्रास्तुतिकला च॥
तीर्थोपवनसुरालयविहरणहेलाकला गृहकला च।
वश्यौषधमन्त्रकला वृक्षकला केशरन्जनकला च॥
भिक्षुकतापसबहुबिधपुण्यकला द्वीपदर्शनकला च।
खिन्ना कलात्रिषषृया पर्यन्ते कुट्टनीकला वेश्या॥

Kṣemendra's *Kalā Vilāsa*, IV, vv. 2-11

APPENDIX II

Gotra, Pravara and Sakha

Gotra—The term *gotra* which literally means a cow-stable, in historical times, came to be applied for a common residence of a family and finally a group of people connected together by blood. The *gotra* system had fully developed among the Brāhmaṇas who be-

lieved themselves to be the progeny of one or the other religious sage. Originally, there were seven eponymous sages, namely, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu, Gautama, Bhāradvāja, Atri and Viśvāmitra. After the Aryanisation of the South by the sage Agastya, the eighth *gotra*, named Agastya also came into being. These primaeval *gotras* were multiplied in later times. The *Dharmasindhu* of Kāśīnātha states : "though the *gotras* are endless their major divisions are forty-nine." People bearing the same *gotra* name held themselves to be the descendants of the same *ṛṣi* and thus having been connected together by blood were forbidden to inter-marry.

Though it was primarily a Brāhmaṇic institution the *gotra* system was later on extended to the Kṣatriyas also who in the religious literature are enjoined to adopt the *gotra* of their family-priest (*kulapurohita*).

PRAVARA—Explaining the term *pravara* it is stated in the Dharmaśāstra that the *pravaras* are the special *ṛṣis* encompassing the original *gotra* sages. At the time of the daily consecration of fire a Brāhmaṇa priest along with his *gotra* name was also expected to pronounce his *pravara*, a formula generally containing three or five names. But in course of time this ritualistic significance of *pravaras* gave way to the idea of a common lineage like the developed *gotra* system. *Pravara*, thus being inter-related to *gotra*, also set up a futher bar to marriage. Some forbade the marriage between two *gotras* having one *pravara* name in common while others prescribed the restriction only when there were two common names.

SAKHA—A further sub-division of *śākhā* signified a school or traditional recension of the Veda or the traditional text followed by a family, as in Śākalaśākhā, Aśvalāyanaśākhā, Vāṣkalaśākhā, etc.

APPENDIX III

SUBJECTS OF STUDY

THE FOLLOWING list of the subjects of study is based on the *Samrāiccakahā* of the Jaina author Haribhadra Sūri. It is a fairly comprehensive list consisting of the eighty-nine subjects in all showing thereby the great specialisation in the sciences and *kalās* marked during the period of study.

1. *Lekha*
2. *Gaṇita*
3. *Ālekha*
4. *Nāṭya*
5. *Gīta*
6. *Vādita*
7. *Svaragata*
8. *Puṣkaragata*
9. *Samatāla*
10. *Dyūta*
11. *Janavāda*
12. *Horā*
13. *Kāvya*
14. *Dakamārtika*
15. *Aṣṭāpada*
16. *Annavidhi*
17. *Pānavidhi*
18. *Śayanavidhi*
19. *Āryā*
20. *Prahelikā*
21. *Māgadhikā*
22. *Gāthā*
23. *Gīti*
24. *Śloka*
25. *Madhusiktham*
26. *Gandhayukti*
27. *Ābharaṇavidhi*
28. *Taruṇīpratikarma*
29. *Strīlakṣaṇa*
30. *Puruṣalakṣaṇa*
31. *Hayalakṣaṇa*
32. *Gajalakṣaṇa*
33. *Golakṣaṇa*
34. *Kukkuṭalakṣaṇa*
35. *Meṣalakṣaṇa*
36. *Cakralakṣaṇa*
37. *Chatralakṣaṇa*
38. *Daṇḍalakṣaṇa*
39. *Asilakṣaṇa*
40. *Maṇilakṣaṇa*
41. *Kākiṇīlakṣaṇa*
42. *Carmalakṣaṇa*
43. *Candracarita*
44. *Sūracarita*
45. *Rāhucarita*
46. *Grahacarita*
47. *Sūtrākāra*
48. *Dūtākāra*
49. *Vidyāgatam*
50. *Mantragatam*
51. *Rahasyagatam*
52. *Samhhavam*
53. *Cāra*
54. *Praticāra*
55. *Vyūha*
56. *Prativyūha*
57. *Skandhāvāramāna*
58. *Nagaramāna*
59. *Vāstumāna*
60. *Skandhāvāraniveśa*
61. *Nagaraniveśa*
62. *Vāstuniveśa*
63. *Iṣvastra*
64. *Tattvapravāda*
65. *Aśvaśikṣā*
66. *Hastiśikṣā*
67. *Maṇiśikṣā*
68. *Dhanurveda*
69. *Hiraṇyavāda*
70. *Suvarṇavāda*
71. *Maṇivāda*
72. *Dhatuvāda*
73. *Bāhuyuddha*
74. *Daṇḍayuddha*
75. *Muṣṭiyuddha*
76. *Asthiyuddha*
77. *Yuddha*
78. *Niyuddha*

79. *Yuddhaniyuddha*
80. *Sūtrakrīḍā*
81. *Vartakrīḍā*
82. *Vāhyakrīḍā*
83. *Nālikākrīḍā*
84. *Patrachedya*
85. *Kaṭakachedya*
86. *Pratarachedya*
87. *Sajīva*
88. *Nirjīva*
89. *Śakunaruta*

APPENDIX IV

Candrapida's Education

तारापीडो व्यासङ्गविघातार्थं बहिर्नगरादनुसिप्रमर्धक्रोशमात्रायामम्, ··· अमरागाराकारं विद्यामन्दिरमकारयत्। ··तत्रस्थं च ··अखिलविद्योपादानार्थमाचार्येभ्यश्चन्द्रापीडं शोभने दिवसे वैशम्पायनद्वितीयमर्पयां बभूव। ··· चन्द्रापीडोऽप्यनन्यहृदयतया तथा यन्त्रितो राज्ञाचिरेणैव यथास्वमात्मकौशलं प्रकटयद्भिः पात्रवशादुपजातोत्साहैराचार्यैरुपदिश्यमानाः सर्वा विद्या जग्राह। मणिदर्पण इवातिनिर्मले तस्मिन् संचक्राम सकलः कलाकलापः। तथा हि पदे, वाक्ये, प्रमाणे, धर्मशास्त्रे, राजनीतिषु, व्यायामविद्यासु, चापचक्रचर्मकृपाणशक्तितोमरपरशुगदाप्रभृतिषु सर्वेष्वायुधविशेषेषु, रथचर्यासु, गजपृष्ठेषु, वीणावेणुमुरजकांस्यतालदर्दुरपुटप्रभृतिषु वाद्येषु, भरतादिप्रणीतेषु नृत्तशास्त्रेषु, नारदीयप्रभृतिषु गान्धर्व-वेदविशेषेषु, हस्तिशिक्षायाम्, तुरङ्गवयोज्ञाने, पुरुषलक्षणे, चित्रकर्मणि पत्रच्छेद्ये पुस्तकव्यापारे लेख्यकर्मणि, सर्वासु द्यूतकलासु, शकुनिरुतज्ञाने, ग्रहगणिते, रत्नपरीक्षासु, दारुकर्मणि, दन्तव्यापारे, वास्तुविद्यासु, आयुर्वेदे, यन्त्रप्रयोगे, विषापहरणे, सुरङ्गोपभेदे, तरणे, लङ्घने, प्लुतिषु, इन्द्रजाले, कथासु, नाटकेषु, आख्यायिकासु, काव्येषु, महाभारतपुराणेतिहासरामायणेषु, सर्वलिपिषु, सर्वदेशभाषासु, सर्वसंज्ञासु, सर्वशिल्पेषु, छन्दःसु, अन्येष्वपि लोकविशेषेषु परं कौशलमवाप।

Kādambarī, pp. 149-150

APPENDIX V

Puranic chapters composed during A. D. 600—1000

The following chronological table of the Purāṇic chapters on the Hindu rites and customs written during the period A. D. 600-1000 is based on Dr. R. C. Hazra's book *Studies in the Purāṇic Rites and Customs*.[1]

[1] Chap. IV.

MATSYA PURĀNA

Subjects	*Probable years of composition*	*Chapters*
Funeral Sacrifices	A. D. 400-850. Probably between A. D. 550 & 650.	16-22
Gifts	(i) A. D. 500-650	53, 83-92
	(ii) A. D. 550-650. Later than the chapters of the just preceding group.	82, 274-89.
	(iii) A. D. 400-1100	205-206.
Vows	(i) A. D. 550-650	54-57, 61
	(ii) A. D. 550-650 Later than the chapters of the just preceding group.	74-75, 77-81
	(iii) A. D. 650-950	76
	(iv) A. D. 600-900	95-96, 97-101. Chapters 97-101 were later than 95-96.
	(v) Interpolated most probably not later than A. D. 900.	7(6-30)
Bath	(i) A. D. 550-650	67
	(ii) A. D. 650-950	102
Consecration & *Vāstu*	(i) A. D. 550-650	58-59, 264-70
	(ii) A. D. 650-1000	252-257
Pratimālakṣaṇa	A. D. 550-650	258-263
Duties of kings, law, (*vyavahāra*), penances, sacrifices to the planets and the methods of their pacification	A. D. 650-1000	93-94, 215-243.
Yugadharma	Probably not later than A. D. 950	165
Dedication or *Utsarga*	A. D. 550-650	207
Holy Places	A. D. 700-1075	180-185
	A. D. 800-1250	103-112

KŪRMA PURĀNA

Varṇāśramadharma	(i) A. D. 550-650	I, 2 (verses 36-75); I, 3
	(ii) A. D. 700-800. Most probably at the beginning of the 8th century.	II, 12-13, II, 14 (except vv. 57-61); II, 15, 19 24-25 and 27-29.
Sāmānyadharma	A. D. 700-800. Most probably at the beginning of the 8th century.	II, 16
Eatables and non-eatables	A. D. 700-800. Most probably at the beginning of the 8th century.	II, 17
Daily Duties	,,	II, 18-19
Funeral Sacrifices	,,	II, 20-22
Impurity	,,	II, 23
Gifts	,,	II, 26
Penances	,,	II, 30, 32-33
Yugadharma	A. D. 700-1400 Probably A. D. 700-800.	I, 28
Nature of the *Kali-age*	A. D. 700-1150 Probably A. D. 700-800	I, 30-34
Holy Places	A. D. 750-1250 rather A. D. 800-1250.	I, 35-38; II, 34-42.

VĀMANA PURĀNA

Hells	A. D. 9th or 10th cen. Most probably in the former	11
Results of actions	,,	12
Varṇāśramadharma, customs in general, eatables and non-eatables, purification of body and things and impurity due to birth and death.	,,	14
Vow	Earlier than A. D. 1050. May 80 belong to the 9th or 10th century.	

Viṣṇu worship	,,	95

LIṄGA PURĀNA

Liṅga worship	A. D. 600-1000. Most probably A. D. 600-800	I, 25-26
Consecration of Liṅga	A. D. 600-1000. Most probably A. D. 800-1000	I, 77-78; II, 46-49.
Pāśupata-*vrata* or Śivaliṅga-*vrata*	,,	I, 81
Śivavratas to be observed in different months	,,	I, 83-84
The method of muttering *Mantra*	,,	I, 85
Dīkṣā and *Puraścaraṇa*	,,	I, 83, 83-126
Customs in general	,,	I, 85, 127 to the end.
Penances for *Yatis*	,,	I, 90
Śiva worship	A. D. 600-1000. Most probably A. D. 800-1000	II, 23-26
Great gifts	,,	II, 28-44
Funeral sacrifices and living persons	,,	II, 45
Mystic rites and practices	,,	II, 51 to the end.

VARĀHA PURĀNA

Funeral sacrifices	(i) A. D. 800	13-14
	(ii) A. D. 800-1100	187-192
Tithis	A. D. 800	19-35
Worship	(i) A. D. 800	37
	(ii) A. D. 800-1100. Later than the former.	115-120; 123-124.
Vows	A. D. 800	38-65
Yugadharma and penances	,,	68
Holy places	(i) A. D. 800-1100	126
	(ii) A. D. 800-1100. Probably later than the chapters of the former group.	137-39.

Initiation	A. D. 800-1100	127-129
Penances	,,	130-135
Consecration	,,	181-186
Funeral sacrifices	,,	187-192
Hells and results of action	A. D. 900-1100	198-206
Gifts	,,	207
Duties of Women	,,	208-209.

PADMA PURĀNA

(As to the chapters which were borrowed by the *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa* from the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the dates given below are those of their incorporation into the *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*.

Vows	A. D. 600-750. Most probably in the later half of the 7th cen.	7 (8-30)
Duties of Women	,,	7 (39-50)
Funeral sacrifices	,,	9 (73 to the end), 10-11
Dīkṣā and *varṇāśramadharma*	,,	15 (96-158)
Varṇāśramadharma	,,	15 (161 to the end)
Holy places and Brahmā worship	,,	17 (188-259)
Holy places	,,	29
Vows and gifts	,,	31 (76 to the end)
Vows, gifts and Consecration	A. D. 800-950. Most probably in the former half of the 8th cen.	20-25
Holy places and results of action	,,	27-28
Yugadharma	,,	36 (28-51)
Brāhmī initiation	A. D. 850-1400	31 (8-75)

The other *khaṇḍas* of the *Padma Purāṇa* have generally been assigned to the period after A. D. 900 or A. D. 950 and have therefore not been included here.

BṚHANNĀRADĪYA AND NĀRADĪYA PURĀNAS

(a) *Bṛhannāradīya*

Chapters dealing with *Varṇāśramadharma*, funeral sacrifices, penances, holy places and vows, etc.	Most probably between A. D. 850 and 950; probably some time about the middle of the 9th century.	

(b) *Nāradīya*

(As to the chapters of the *Nāradīya* which were borrowed from the *Bṛhannāradīya*, the date given below is that of their incorporation into the *Nāradīya*.)

Holy places	A. D. 875-1000	I, 12
Building temples, digging ponds and making gifts	,,	I, 13
Varṇāśramadharma,	,,	I, 14, 224-320
Sins (*pātakas*), penances funeral sacrifices		
Vows	,,	I, 17-23
Customs, *varṇāśramadharma* funeral sacrifices, penances, *tithis*, *mahāpātakas*, minor sins, etc.	,,	I, 24-30
Glories of vows	,,	II, 1-37
Gaṅgā Māhātmya	Earlier than Vācaspatimiśra	II, 38-43

AGNI PURĀNA

Holy places, funeral sacrifices, worship of deities, *varṇāśramadharma*, marriage customs, purification of things, impurity; sacrifices to the planets, sins, penances, vows, hells, gifts, duties of kings etc.	During the 9th century A. D.	The Smṛti chapters which are original to the *Agni Purāṇa* (except those chapters which are borrowed from earlier sources)

GARUḌA PURĀNA

Various kinds of worship,	During the 10th	The Smṛti

initiation, *nyāsa*, investiture with the sacred thread, consecration of images, daily duties, gifts, penances, vows, bath, funeral-sacrifices, *Yugadharma*, *Sandhyā* etc.	century A. D.	chapters in the purva - khaṇḍa (except those borrowed from the *Yajña-valkya*, and *Parāśara Smṛtis*).

BRAHMA PURĀNA

The date of composition or rather compilation of the *Brahma Purāṇa*	Between A. D. 900 and 1200	
Bath and holy places	A. D. 900-1150 earlier	28 (1-8)
	than other chapters	42 (35 to the end) 43-69, 70 (I-II) and 176-177

BRAHMAVAIVARTA PURĀNA

Janmāṣṭamīvrata	Between the 8th and the beginning of the 14th cen. A. D.	IV, 8
Ekādaśīvrata	,,	IV, 26

BHAVIṢYA PURĀNA

Varṇāśramadharma, duties of women, customs,	(i) Not later than A. D. 1000	Bhar. I-21, 31, 32, 36, 37, 39, 46, 81, 95-101 and 106
marriages, worship, vows, initiation etc.	(ii) Not later than A. D. 1075	Bhar. I-3, 4, 64, 93, 103, 118, 181, 184.

APPENDIX VI

Harsa's Religion

Harṣa's plays are valuable also on account of their testifying to the gradual change in the religious opinion of their author. In *Priyadarśikā* he salutes Śiva[1]; in *Ratnāvali*, the salutation is to

[1] Act I, vv. 1 and 2.

Śiva and Gaurī.[1] Under the guise of an invocatory stanza Harṣa proclaims in *Ratnāvali* his success and his resolve to stand by the old religion in the words : "Salutation to the gods, the lord of the stars has asserted himself. May the leading Brāhmaṇas be freed from molestation. May the earth be of bounteous crops. May Harṣa, the moon among kings, shine in a body like that of the moon.[2]" The same idea is expressed in its *Bharata-vākya* : "May Indra, pouring rain as required, provide earth with abundant crops. May the leading Brāhmaṇas cause lawful gratification of the celestials.[3] In *Nāgānanda*, on the other hand, the salutation is to the Buddha[4], though Gaurī and Garuḍa too[5], are introduced in the course of the drama. These facts prove beyond the possibility of any doubt that Harṣa, though a worshipper of Śiva in his early age and youth, had by the time he wrote *Nāgānanda* turned a Buddhist, but a Buddhist of the type that scorns the idea of looking down upon the religious beliefs of others.

APPENDIX VII

Pasupata Bhairavacarya

Harscarita gives us an interesting sketch of a *Pāśupatācārya*, Bhairavācārya, who practised black magic and heinous rites to get *Aiśvarya* or *Maheśvarya*, the ultimate object of a *Pāśupata*. He bathed early in the morning, presented eight-fold offerings of flowers to Śiva and, stood on ground smeared with cowdung. A long beard dangled upon his breast. His hair was knotted at the top showing the round shells of his rosary hanging from one braided part. A pair of crystal ear-ring dangled from his pendulous ears. Upon one forearm he had one iron-bracelet and a charm-thread of various herbs. His right hand shook a rosary. A girdling loin-cloth of pure white linen covered his waist. He had also an ascetic's scrap of white colour. On his feet were white water-washed sleepers. At his side was a bamboo staff with a barb of iron inserted in end. By constantly muttering prayers in the way prescribed in the *kalpa*, he had performed in a cemetery the powerful rite called *Mahā-kālahṛdaya*.

---

[1] Act I, vv. 1 and 2.
[2] Act I, v. 5.
[3] Act I, v. 22.
[4] Act I, 1.
[5] Act I, v. 13; Act V, p. 200.

All his efforts were directed towards the attainment of the position of *Vidyādhara* which he is ultimately said to have attained with the help of Puṣyabhūti after going once again to the cemetery on the dark fourteenth day of the month, sitting on the breast of a corpse and performing a fire-rite into corpse's mouth where a fire was burning. He, as dressed in a *kalpa*, had a black turbar, anointed his body with black unguents and wore black garments. The corpse which lay with its back on the ground was anointed with red sandal, red garlands, red clothes and ornaments.

APPENDIX VIII

The Lists of the Siddhacaryas

A. The Eighty-four Siddhas of Vajrayana

Name	*Caste*	*Place*
1. Luipā	Kāyastha	Magadha
2. Līlāpā	—	—
3. Virupā	—	Magadha
4. Ḍombipā	Kṣatriya	Magadha
5. Śabarapā	Kṣatriya	Vikramaśilā
6. Sarahapā	Brāhmaṇa	Nālandā
7. Kaṁkālīpā	Śūdra	Magadha
8. Mīnapā	Fisher	Kāmarūpa
9. Gorakṣapā	—	—
10. Cauraṁgīpā	Rājakumāra	Magadha
11. Vīṇāpā	Rājakumāra	Gauḍa (Bihāra)
12. Śāntipā	Brāhmaṇa	Magadha
13. Tantipā	—	Soṅdho (town)
14. Camāripā	Leather worker	Viṣṇunagar (Pūrvadeśa)
15. Khaḍgapā	Śūdra	Magadha
16. Nāgārajuna	Brāhmaṇa	Kāñcī
17. Kaṇhapā (Caryapā)	Kāyastha	Somapurī
18. Karṇaripā or Āryadeva	—	Nālandā
19. Thaganapā	Śūdra	Pūrva Bhārata
20. Nāropā	Brāhmaṇa	Magadha
21. Śalipā or Śīlapā	Śūdra	Vighasura
22. Tilopā or Tillopā	Brāhmaṇa	Bhigunagara
23. Kṣatrapā	Śūdra	Saṁdhonagara

Name	*Caste*	*Place*
24. Bhadrapā	Brāhmaṇa	Maṇidhara
25. Dokhaṁdhi or Dvikhaṇḍipā	—	Gandhapur
26. Ajogipā	Gṛhapati	Śāliputra
27. Kālapā	—	Rājapura
28. Dhombhipā	Washerman	Śāliputra
29. Kakaṇapā	Rājakumāra	Viṣṇunagara
30. Kamar or Kaṁbalapa	—	Orissa
31. Deṅgipā	Brāhmaṇa	Orissa, Sāliputra
32. Bhadepā	—	Śrāvastī
33. Taṁdhe or Taṁtepā	Śūdra	Kauśambī
34. Kukuripā	Brāhmaṇa	Kapilavastu
35. Kuci or Kūsūlipā	Śūdra	Kari
36. Dharmapā	Brāhmaṇa	Vikramaśilā
37. Mahīpā or Mahilapā	Śūdra	Magadha
38. Acintipā	Wood cutter	Dhanirupa
39. Bhalaha (Bhavapā)	Kṣatriya	Dhaṁjuradeśa
40. Nalinapā	—	Sālipura
41. Bhusukupā	Rājakumāra	Nālandā
42. Indrabhūti	Rājā	Laṁkāpura
43. Mekopā	Vaṇika	Bhaṁgaladeśa
44. Kuṭḥāli (Kuddālipā)	—	Rāmeśvara
45. Karmāra or Kamparipā	Blacksmith	Sāliputra
46. Jālandharapā	Brāhmaṇa	Nagara Bho....
47. Rāhulapā	Śūdra	Kāmarūpa
48. Gharvari or Gnarbnaripā	—	Bodhinagara
49. Dhokaripā	Śūdra	Sāliputra
50. Medanīpā	—	Lāknapuya
51. Paṅkajapā	Brāhmaṇa	—
52. Vajra or Ghaṅṭāpā	Kṣatriya	Vārendra
53. Jogīpā or Ajogipā	Ḍoma	Oduntipuri
54. Celukpā	Śūdra	Bhaṁgalapura
55. Guṅḍaripā or Gorurpā	Fowler	Ḍisunagar
56. Lucikapā	Brāhmaṇa	Bhaṁgaladeśa
57. Nirguṇapā	Śūdra	Pūrvadeśa
58. Jayānanta	Brāhmaṇa	Bhaṁgalapur
59. Carpaṭī or Pacarīpā	Śūdra (Kahāra)	Champā
60. Campakapā	Rājakumāra	—
61. Bhikhanapā	Śūdra	Sāliputra

Name	*Caste*	*Place*
62. Bhalipā	Krṣṇaghṛtavaṇika	Satapurī
63. Kumaripā	—	Jomanaśrīdeśa
64. Cavariṭpā	—	—
65. Maṇibhadrā or Yoginī	Gṛhadāsī	Magadha
66. Mekhalāpā or Yoginī	Gṛhapatikanyā	Agacenagara
67. Kanakhalāpā or Yoginī	—	Devīkoṭa
68. Kalakalapā	Śūdra	Bhirliranagara
69. Kaṅtalī or Kanthālipā	Tailor	Maṇidhara
70. Dhahuli or Dhahuripā	Śūdra	Dhekaradeśa
71. Udhali or Udharipā	Vaiśya	Devīkoṭa
72. Kapāla or Kamalapā	Śūdra	Rājapurī
73. Kilapā	Rājakumāra	Prahara (Sahara)
74. Sāgarapā	Rājā	Kāñcinī
75. Sarvabhakṣapā	Śūdra	Mahara (Sahara)
76. Nāgabodhipā	Brāhmaṇa	Western India
77. Dārikapā	Rājā	Orissa, Sāliputra
78. Pūtulipā	Śūdra	Bhaṁgaladeśa
79. Panaha or Upānahapā	Shoe-maker	Saṁdhonagara
80. Kokālipa	Rājakumara	Campārana
81. Anaṅgapā	Śūdra	Gauḍa
82. Lakṣamīkarā or Yoginī	Rājakumārī	Sambhalanagar
83. Samudapā	—	Sarvaḍideśa
84. Bhali or Vyālipā	Brāhmaṇa	Apatradeśa

B—Gruenwedel's List based on the Tanjur Catalogue of the Tantras

The list contains thirty-six names only but they have been assigned the same serial number as we find in the list A. These numbers are I, 3-6, 8-13, 16-20, 22, 24, 30-32, 34, 36, 42, 44, 46, 52, 54, 57, 64, 66-7, 74, 77, 82, 84, !Caurańgīpā, the tenth Siddha of the list A, has been named Ṣaḍrańgapā in this list.

C—List of the Siddhas as given in the Varnaratnakara of Jyotisvara Thakkura

The list mentions the total number of Siddhas as eighty-four but the names actually given are seventy-six. These names are : — (1) Mīnanātha (2) Gorakṣanātha (3) Caurańgīnātha (4) Cāmarī-

nātha (5) Taṅtipā (6) Hālipā (7) Kedāripā (8) Dhoṅgapā (9) Dāripā (10) Virupā (11) Kapālī (12) Kamārī (13) Kānha (14) Kanakhala (15) Mekhala (16) Unmana (17) Kāṇḍali (18) Dhobī (19) Jālandhara (20) Ṭoṅgī (21) Mavaha (22) Nāgārjuna (23) Daulī (24) Bhiṣāla (25) Aciti (26) Campaka (27) Dheṇṭasa (28) Bhumbarī (29) Bākali (30) Tujī (31) Carpaṭī (32) Bhāde (33) Cāṅdana (34) Kāmarī (35) Karavata (36) Dharmapāpataṅga (37) Bhadra (38) Pātalibhadra (39) Pālihiha (40) Bhānu (41) Mīna (42) Nirdaya (43) Sabara (44) Sānti (45) Bhartṛharı (46) Bhīṣaṇa (47) Bharī (48) Gaganapā (49) Gamāra (50) Menurā (51) Kumārī (52) Jeevana (53) Aghosādhava (54) Girivara (55))Siyārī (56) Nāgavāli (57) Vibhavat (58) Sāraṅga (59) Vivikidhaja (60) Magaradhaja (61) Acita (62) Vicita (63) Necaka (64) Cāṭala (65) Nācana (66) Bhīlo (67) Pāhila (68) Pāsala (69) Kamala-Kaṅgāri (70) Cipila (71) Govinda (72) Bhīma (73) Bhairava (74) Bhadra (75) Bhamari and (76) Bhurukuṭī.

D—Names common in the Lists A and C above

Śabarīpā, Mīnapā, Gorakṣapā, Cauraṅgīpā, Śāntipā, Tantipī, Caṁvaripā, Nāgārjuna, Kaṇhapā, Thaganapā, Śīlapā, Bhadrapā, Dhommipā, Kamaripā, Dheṅgipā, Bhadepā, Dharmapā, Acintipā, Kuḍālipā, Kamāripā, Jālandharapā, Medanīpā or Hālīpā, Carpaṭīpā, Campakapā, Bhīkhanapā, Bhelipā, Kumāripā, Maṇibhadrā, Mekhalāpā, Kanakhalāpā, Kapālapā, Nāgabodhipā, and Dārikapā.

APPENDIX IX

A Complete List of Hindu Tirthas[1]

Brahman, Puṣkara is the greatest of all sacred places in respect of sanctity and merit.....Therein lies the sacred place known as Jamvumārga, as well as the sanctum named the Tāṇḍulikāśraya. Kaṇvāśrama is the sacred place and a resort thereto equals the merit of visiting a million of sancturies. Such is the river Narmadā; the great Arvuda hill; the river Carmaṇavatī; the Indus; the temple at Somanātha; Prabhāsaka; the union of the Sarasvatī and the sea and the estuary of the latter river. A pilgrimage to Dwārkā, Gomatī and Piṇḍāraka grants all desires. The places and

---

[1] Based on Chap. CIX of *Agni Purāṇa* as translated by Manmatha Nath Dutta, Vol. I, pp. 438-9.

hills such as Bhūmitīrtha, Brahmatuṅga, the five rivers, Bhīmatīrtha, the Himālayas, the sin destroying Devikā should be held as equally sacred. Likewise the Cape Comorin, Bināśana, Nāgodbheda, Aghardana are holy sanctuaries. A man who always repeats that he will go to Kurukṣetra and live therein, becomes free of sin and goes to heaven. The gods such as Viṣṇu, etc. all reside therein and a man approaches the god by living in that place. A man who visits and bathes in the river Sarasvatī goes to the region of Brahmā, even the particles of dust in Kurukṣetra impart salvation. The other holy places, Brahman, are Dharmatīrtha, Sawarṇākhya, the source of the Ganges, Kanakhal, the lake Bhadrakarṇa, the confluence of the Ganges and the Sarasvatī, Brahmāvarta, Aghardana (the place where the demon Agha was killed), the hills of Bhṛguthuṅga, Kuljāmra, the fountains and glaciers which give rise to the river Ganges and Aghantaka; while the holy city of Vārāṇasī is the sancto-sanctum of all sacred places and likewise the sancturies of the towns of Avimukta and Anuttama.

Brahman, the holy places which close the list of the places of pilgrimages, are Kalpamocana, the city of Prayāga, which is the crown of the sacred places; the confluence of the rivers Gomatī and the Ganges and the latter river itself which brings down heaven into the countries it flows through. The city of Rājagṛha is a holy city and likewise the villages of Śalagrāma and Aghantaka are sacred places; the remaining sacred (places of) pilgrimages being Vaṭeśa, Vāmanatīrtha, the temple of Kālī, Lauhitya, the rivers Karatoya, Śoṇa, the hills known as Śrī Parvata, Kalvagiri, the Sahyādri, the Malaya hills, the rivers such as the Godāvarī, Tuṅgbhadrā, Kāverī, Varada, Tāpī, Payoṣṇī, Revā, and the forests of Daṇḍaka.

Brahman, I shall close the list of the sacred places with the names of the cities, principalities etc. viz. Kalañjara, Muñjavaṭa, Sūrpāraka, Mandākinī, Citrakūṭa, the city of Sṛṅgavera, Avanti, Ayodhyā, and the forests of Naimiṣa which grants to its pilgrims both enjoyments of earthly cheers and salvation hereafter.

APPENDIX X

Ornaments

As already stated, our literature abounds in the description of ornaments worn by both sexes. The information though, at

times, rather vague, is sufficiently varied and extensive. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, for instance, names many varieties of pearl-necklaces, to wit, the *Inducchanda*, *Vijayacchanda*, *Hāra*, *Devacchanda*, *Ardhahāra* *Raśmikalpa*, *Guccha*, *Ardhaguccha*, *Māṇavaka*, *Ardhamāṇavaka*, *Mandāra*, *Hāraphalaka* and *Nakṣatramālā* or *Maṇisopāna*.[1] Of these the names of *Devacchanda*, *Māṇavaka*, *Guccha* and *Arddhaguccha* appear also in the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* with one more name of *Gopuccha*.[2] *Inducchanda* was a necklace composed of 1008 strings and was four cubits long.[3] *Vijayacchand* consisted of 504 strings and was two cubits long.[4] A necklace of one hundred and eight strings with two cubits' length was known as *Hāra*.[5] *Devacchanda* had 81 strings according to the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[6], one hundred strings according to the *Abhidhānaratnamālā*[7] and one hundred and eight strings according to the *Ṭīkāsarvasva* of Sarvānanda. *Ardhahāra* was of sixty-four strings, *Raśmikalpa* of fifty-four, *Guccha* of thirty two, *Ardhaguccha* of twenty, *Ardhamāṇavaka* of twelve, *Mandāra* of eight and *Hāraphalaka* of five strings.[8] Māṇavaka had sixteen strings according to the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* but fifty according to the *Abhidhānaratnamālā*.[9] A necklace with twenty-seven pearls was called *Nakṣatramālā* according to both the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and the *Abhidhānaratnamālā*.[10] *Gopuccha* was a necklace of four strings.[11] Of the ornaments worn by men in the seventh century Bhartṛhari mentions *Keyūra* (armlet), *Hāra* (necklace) and *Mūrdhaja* (head ornament).[12] The *Ratnāvali* of Harṣa adds to these the names of *Kaṭaka* (bracelet).[13] *Trikaṇṭakas*, *Dantapatrikās*, *Kuṇḍalas*, *Karṇābharaṇās*, *Patrāṅkura-Karṇapūras*, *Karṇotpalas* and *Indranīlikā* for ears[14];

---

[1] *BS*, Chap. 81, vv. 31-35.
[2] vv. 562-3.
[3] *BS*, chap. 81, v. 31
[4] ibid.
[5] ibid. v. 32.
[6] ibid.
[7] v. 562.
[8] *BS*, Chap. 81, vv. 32-24.
[9] ibid, v. 33; *ARM*, 562.
[10] *BS*, Chap. 81, v. 34; *ARM*, v. 563.
[11] *ARM*, v. 652.
[12] कैयूरा न विभूषयन्ति पुरुषं हारा न चन्द्रोज्वला।
न स्नानं न विलेपनं न कुसुमं नालंकृता: मूर्धजा:॥ *Nītiśataka*, v. 103.
[13] राजा––(हस्तादपनीय कटकं ददाति)––*Ratnāvalī*, Act III, p. 81.
[14] pp. 22, 135, 207, 114, 61, 74, 135, 207, 139, 207, 176.

Śeṣahāra and *Tārāhāra* for neck[1]; *Mekhalā* for waist[2] and *Śekhara*, *Mukuṭa*, *Cūḍāmaṇi*, *Bālapāśas*, *Muṇḍamālās* and *Śikhaṇḍābharaṇas* for head are referred to in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa.[3] Dāmodaragupta in his *Kuṭṭanīmatam* (9th cent.) introduces us to two more varieties of ear-rings worn by the son of an officer (*Bhaṭṭa*), the one called *Dalabīṭaka* and the other *Śīśapatraka*. His attendant wore a necklace technically known as *Kākavartakamālā* and bangles made of conch-shell.[4]

Of the female ornaments, as already described, we have a good deal of information from Mālatī's description in the *Harṣacarita*. It introduces to us such important ornaments as *Mālā* round the breasts, *Dantapatra* in the left ear, *Ketakīgarbhapalāśa* in the right ear, the *Caṭulātilaka* on the forehead and the *Cuḍāmaṇimakarikā* for head.[5] Bāṇa's description of the women of Śrīkaṇṭha, gives us the names of a few more ornaments such as the garland of lotus leaves or *Muṇḍamālā*, the ear-oranments of leaves or *Śravaṇāvataṁsa*, ear-ring or *Kuṇḍala*, necklace or *Hāra* coming up to the bosoms and the rings of *Indranīlamaṇi* for feet.[6] From his description of dancing women[7] we have the new names of *Valayāvali*, *Kuraṇṭaka-śekhara* and the *Pallavas* in the *Dhamnilla* (braided lock of hair).[8] Tārāpīḍa's queen used *Karṇapallavas*, *Valayas*, *Dantapatras*, *Maṇikarṇapūras* and *Patrabhaṅgas*.[9] On her lock of hair (*alaka*) she had a *Kusumanikara*, i.e., bunch of flowers.[10] Other ornaments of women mentioned in the *Kādambarī* are *Kanakapatra* for the ears[11], *Ratnavalaya* for the *forearms*[12], *Ekāvali* and *Triva-*

---

[1] pp. 73, 227.
[2] p. 72.
[3] pp. 207, 74.
[4] vv. 64-67.
[5] See chapter on "Toilet, Dress and Ornaments".
[6] *HC*, III, pp. 98-99.
[7] *HC*, IV, p. 132.
[8] *Dhammilla* is explained by Kṣīraswāmī as *Jūṭākhya*. Did the women using *Tamālapallava* in their head use dress on their head? One cannot be sure regarding this fact.
[9] *Kād.*, pp. 115-16.
[10] ibid.
[11] *Kād.*, p. 193.
[12] p. 351.

lilatā for the neck[1] and *Sīmantamakarikā* for the hair.[2] The *Ratnāvali* refers to a kind of necklace decked with gems (*Ratnāvali*) and a *Sragadāma* for the *Keśapāśa*.[3] But the best description of women's ornaments that we have in Harṣa's plays is to be found in the following verse of *Priyadarśikā*.[4]

पादैर्नूपुरिभिर्नितम्बफलकैश्शिन्जानकांचीगुणैः
हारापादितकान्तिभिः स्तनतटैः केयूरिभिर्बाहुभिः।
कर्णैः कुण्डलिभिः करैस्सवलयैः सस्वस्तिकैर्मूर्धजैः।
देवीनां परिचारिकापरिजनोप्येतेषु संदृश्यते॥

In this description *Svastikamūrdhaja* for head is a new ornament. In the same drama we also see the queen offering *Nīlotpaladāma*, i.e., the wreath of blue flowers, taking it out from her hair.[5] The two other ornaments of women, viz., *Valayakalāpī* and *Kaṇakaṇādi* are named in the *Kuṭṭanīmatam*.[6] Many new names of ornaments are supplied by the *Samarāiccakahā*. These are the *Bāhusārikā* for the armpit[7], a *Plavaṅgabandha* for the breasts[8], *Ratnacakralatā* for the ears[9] and *Cūḍāratna* for the forehead.[10]

The *Mānasāra* divides ornaments into four classes as *Patrakalpa*, *Citrakalpa*, *Ratnakalpa* and *Miśrita*.[11] *Patrakalpas* or orna-

---

[1] pp. 366, 368. *Ekāvali* was a kind of necklace which consisted of one chain only. *Trivali* as is obvious from the name itself consisted of three chains. The former according to *ĀRM* was also known as *Kaṇṭhikā*.

[2] p. 375.

[3] Act II, v. 17.

[4] Act III, v. 5.

[5] Act III.

[6] vv. 342, 348. *Valayakalāpī* is explained in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* as a peacock-shaped armlet with the moon-shaped end. *Kanakaṇādi* is believed to be an ear-ornament.

[7] बाहुलतामूलयो रचिता जनमनश्चोरास्तु।
बाहुसारिकाः (बाहुमालाः) तस्या मकरध्वजवागुरा इव॥ II nd Bhava

[8] बद्धश्च स्तनभरोपरि मनोहरवरपद्मरागदलघटितः।
प्रवरः प्लवङ्गबन्धो नितम्बसंसक्तः तथा च॥ ibid.

[9] कुङ्कमकृतरागयोः श्रवणयोः रत्नचक्रलते॥ (ibid.)

[10] विमलं चूड़ारत्नं स्थापितं तस्याः उत्तमाङ्गे॥ (ibid.)

[11] Chap 50, v. 2.

ments showing merely foliated decorations, are said to have been reserved for the deities; *Citrakalpas* consisting of floral and foliated designs for the deities and *cakravartī* rulers; *Ratnakalpas*, consisting of flowers and jewels for *Adhirājas* and *Narendras* and *Miśrita*, i.e., a mixture to be used by all.[1] This is, however, most probably a mere artistic convention of the ornaments details of which have already been mentioned above. But *Suvarṇakañcuka* and *Ratnasūtra* mentioned by him are to be especially noted.[2] Of these the latter seems to have been used by the *vāravanitās* of Harṣa's court, too.[3]

The *Mānasollāsa* mentions various types of ornaments made of gold and studded with jewels and pearls. The precious stones mentioned are *Māṇikya*, *Gomedaka*, *Vaiḍūryaka*, *Pravāla*, *Sūryakānta*, *Candrakānta* and *Sphaṭika*.[4] A single string of big pearls was called *Ekāvalī*.[5] Chains of pearls with three strings, five strings or seven strings were also common.[6] Along with pearls could be used *Nīlamāṇikya* and *Kañcanamṛnālis*.[7] For instance the *Nīlalambaṇikā* consisted of pearls and *Nilamāṇikyas*. The *Varṇasāra* was composed of *Mṛṇālīs*, i.e., small beads.[8] The chain which came up to the navel and was made of jewels studded on gold was known as *Brahmasūtra*.[9] The *Padaka* was an ornament for the chest with a big jewel in the centre in the form of a big green or blue *Māṇikya*. It could have many types according to the variations in jewels.[10] *Keyūra* was an ornament for the upper arms with small chains attached to it.[11] The ornament used for the armpit (*bāhusandhi*)[12] had feathers of *Pecaka* attached to it.[13] The *Kaṭaka*

---

[1] ibid., vv. 1-7.
[2] ibid, 248.
[3] *HC*, II, p. 75.
[4] Chap. VIII, vv. 1053-65.
[5] ibid, v. 1066.
[6] ibid, v. 1067.
[7] ibid, v. 1068.
[8] v. 1072.
[9] v. 1073.
[10] v. 1074-6.
[11] v. 1077.
[12] v. 1078.
[13] vv. 1078.

was an ornament for the forearm. It could be studded with diamonds and rubies.[1] Of rings there were many kinds set with diamonds, rubies, pearls, *Pravāla*, *Marakata*, *Puṣparāga*, *Vajra*, (diamond), *Nīla*, *Gomeda* and other precious stones. A ring with nine planets was known as *Navagraha*. The shape of rings differed according to the various designs used. A ring with one big diamond between two smaller ones was known as *Trihīraka*. The *Śaktimudrikā* had the form of the hood of a snake.[2] *Muktatāḍaka* was a pearl ornament for the ears.[3] The ear ornament consisting of two rings set with pearls and joined in the centre with a Nīla was called *Dvirājika*.[4] Similar to it was the *Trirājika*. The ornament the distance between whose constituents was filled with pearls was known as *Purṇamadhīya*.[5] In a *Vajragarbha* there were pearls on the outside and diamonds in the centre.[6] The one set with diamonds in this way with a *Māṇikya* in the centre was called *Maṇḍana*.[7] A *Kuṇḍala* was made of gold with six or eight *Nemīs*.[8] *Tāṭankas*, *Kaṭakas* and chains of various types were used by men as well as women.[9] *Haṁsatilaka* was an ornament for the forehead of women.[10] Attached to it was the *Daṇḍaka*, a circular ornament consisting of pearls.[11] Its upper part was in the form of *Ketakī* leaf made of gold, and it was known as *Cūḍāmaṇḍana*.[12] With the upper part in the form of a lotus it was known as *Cūḍikā*.[13] *Cūḍī-bhūṣaṇa* was made of gold-flowers with rubies, *Nīlam* and pearl-strings together.[14] The ear-ornament for women called *Mukulā* could be made of pearls, *Nīlaka*, *Māṇikya*, *Garuḍa* and diamonds.[15] Attached to it was a small string of *Nīla* made of nine or ten big

---

1 v. 1079.
2 vv. 1080-90.
3 v. 1091.
4 v. 1092.
5 v. 1093.
6 v. 1094.
7 v. 1095.
8 v. 1197.
9 v. 1098.
10 v. 1102.
11 v. 1102-3.
12 v. 1103-4.
13 v. 1105.
14 v. 1106.
15 v. 1107.

pearls.[1] *Sārikā* was a neck ornament, the size of which was to be determined by the size of the neck.[2] Attached to it was a long chain like ornament known as *Vajrasaṅkalakā*.[3] *Aṅgada* was a circular ornament going round the upper arms. It was made of thin rods of gold, with its ends resembling the face of a lion. It was studded with jewels and attached to it were small strings with pearls and blue *māṇikas*[4]. *Cūḍaka* was an ornament consisting of a number of bangles which were adjusted to the size of the forearms and were divided into two parts connected together by means of thin nails. It could be studded with diamonds, rubies and pearls.[5] *Kāñcī* was a chain going round the waste. Its width was four *aṅgulas* and attached to it were small bells made of gold.[6] Similarly there were bangles for the lower part of the feet.[7] *Kaṭaka* was an ornament of the feet which was rectangular, hexangular and octangular in its design and could have beautiful tinkling gold beads.[8] Three or five chains of tinkling beads studded with hundreds of jewels were known as *Pādapāla*[9], which appears to be the same as our modern *Pāyajeva*. If the bells did not tinkle, the ornament was known as *Bāḍhaka*.[10] An ornament like the *Kaṭaka* which was perhaps slightly broader than it was now as *Andukā*.[11] The second toe had rings called *Mudrikā*[12]. The *Mukuṭa* with *Sekharas* was known as *Śikhara*[13]. With a shape like a bud it was known as *Mukula*.[14]

---

[1] v. 1108.
[2] v. 1109.
[3] v. 1109.
[4] vv. 1110-13.
[5] vv. 1114-15.
[6] vv. 1116-17.
[7] v. 1118.
[8] vv. 1120-21.
[9] vv. 1122-23.
[10] v. 1124.
[11] v. 1125.
[12] v. 1126.
[13] v. 1127.
[14] According to Dr. V. S. Agrawal the description of ornaments shown on the image of Sarasvatī from Pallu, Bikaner is based on the description of ornaments given in the *Mānasollāsa*, vide, बीकानेर जैन लेख संग्रह, प्राकक्थन, p. 5.

APPENDIX XI

Fruits and Vegetables

The *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭṭa discusses the qualities of the following fruits and vegetables of India :—

Fruits

Drākṣā (grapes), *Dāḍima* (pomegranate) of two kinds (sweet and sour), *Moca* (plantain), *Kharjūra* (date), *Panasa* (jack fruit), *Nārikela* (cocoanut), Parūṣa (*Phālsā* in Hindi), *Āmrāta*, *Tāla*, *Kāśmarya* (*Gambhārī* in Hindi), *Bājadāna* (Mimuraps hexandra, *Khirnī* in Hindi), *Madhūka* (*Mahuā* in Hindi), *Sauvīra* (plum), *Badara* (jujube); *Aṅkola Phalgu* (opposite-leaved fig tree), *Sleṣmātakodbhava* (cardya myxa which bears glutinous fruits or *Lasoḍā* in Hindi), *Vatāma* (almond), *Abhiṣuka* (fruit of the pine tree of tubular form known as *cilgojā* in Hindi), *Akṣoḍa* (walnut), *Mukulaka*, *Nikocaka*, *Urumāṇa Priyāla*, *Nailā* (the edible nut of the tree ghirovji sapida, *Ciroṅjī* in Hindi), *Bilba* (the wood-apple Aegle marmelos), *Kapitha* (the fruit of the tree Feromia elephantum or *Kaitha* in Hindi), *Jambū* (blackberry), *Āmra* (mango), *Vṛkṣamala*, *Śamī*, *Pīlū*, *Mātuluṅga* (citron), *Bhallātaka*, *Pālevata*, *Āruka*, *Karmarda* (*Karauṅdā* in Hindi), *Lakuca* (Artocarpus lackoocha or *Baḍahala* in Hindi), *Amrataka* (*Amḍā* in Hindi), *Airavata* (orange), *Dantaśṭha* (*jamvīrī* lemon), *Tūda* (mulberry), *Mṛgalinḍikā*, and *Āmlikā* (tamarind).

Vegetables

Pāṭhā, *Sāṭhī*, *Sūṣā*, *Suniṣaṇṇuka*, (*Caullāi* in Hindi), *Satīna* (peas), *Rājakakṣava*, *Vāstuka* (*Bathuā* in Hindi), *Kākamācī* (*makoya* in Hindi), *Cangaerya*, *Paṭola*, *Saptalā*, *Ariṣṭa* (*neem*), *Sarngeṣṭā* (*Manjīṭha* in Hindi), *Avlgujā*, *Amṛta* (*Giloya* in Hindi), *Vetāgra*, *Bṛhatī* (*Kaṭerī* in Hindi) of two kinds big and small, *Vāsā*, *Kutili*, *Tilaparṇikā*, *Naṇḍūkaparṇi*, *Karkoṭaka*, (*Kaṅkoḍā* in Hindi), *Kāravella* (*Karelā* in Hindi), *Parpaṭa*, *Nāḍī*, *Kalāva*, *Gojihvā*, *Vārtāka* (brinjal), *Śakulādanī*, *Kaṭilla*, *Kambūka*, *Kośātaka*, *Paṭola* (the plant *trichothan thanses dixia* and its fruit or *Paravala* in Hindi), *Vṛṣa* (*Aḍūsā* in Hindi), *Karīra*, *Kosataka*, *Muñjāta*, *Pālaṅka* (spinach), *Caṅcu*, *Vidārī*, *Jīvantī*, *Kuṣmāṇḍa* (pumpkin), *Tumba*, *Kāliṅga* (water melon), *Karkāru* (Cucumber or *Kakarī* in Hindi), *Āirvaru* (*Khīrā* in Hindi), *Tiṇḍiṣa*, *Trapusa*, *Cīnāka*, *Cirbhaṭa* (*Phooṭa* in Hindi), *Mṛṇāla*, *Bisa*, *Śālūka*, *Kumuda Utpalakanda*, *Nandī Māṣaka*, *Kelūṭa*, *Sṛṅgāṭaka* (water chestnut or *siṅghārā* in Hindi), *Kaseruka* (*Kaserū* in Hindi), *Krauṅcādana*, *Kalodya*,

Kalamba, *Nālikā*, *Mārṣa*, *Kutiñjara*, *Kutumbaka*, *Cillī*, *Laṭavāka*, *Loṇīkā*, *Kurūtaka*, *Gavedhuka*, *Jīvanta*, *jhunjhava*, *Aidagaja*, *Yavaśāka* *Suvarcalā*, *Āluka*, *Tarkāri*, *Varuṇa* (*Tamāla* in Hindi), *Varṣā* of two kinds, red and white, *Cirbilva*, the leaves of *Śatāvarī* *Vaṅśakarī*, *Pattūra*, *Kāsamarda*, *Kausumbha*, *Sāraṣna*, *Mūlaka* (radish), *Vārahī-kanda*, *Kuṭhera*, *Śigru*, *Surasa*, *Sumukha*, *Āsurī* (*Rāī* in Hindi), *Bhustṛṇa*, *Phaṇijja*, *Ārjaka*, *gambīra*, *Śālana*, *Surasa* (*Tulsī* plant), *Ādrikā* (green *Dhaniyā* leaves), *Laśuna* (garlic), *Plāṇḍu* (onion), *Gṛnianaka*, *Surana* (yaw) and *Bhūkanda*.

Śukra names the following trees as giving good fruits :—

Udumvara (*Fiscus glomerata*), *Aśwattha* (a holy fig tree), *Vaṭa* (*Banyan*), *Ciñca* (Tamarind), *Candana* (Sandal), *Gambhela* (lime), Kadamba (*Naucha cadam*), Aśoka (*Jonesia asoka*), *Vakula* (*Mimusops Elengi*), *Vilva*, *Amṛta*, *Kapittha*, *Rājadāna*, *Āmra*, *Punnāga* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), *Tūda*, *Campaka* (*Michela Champepa*), *Nīna* (a species of Aśoka), *Koka* (a wild date tree), *Amra* (*Sondies mangifera*), *Sarala* (pine), *Dāḍima*, *Akṣoṭa*, *Śimśapā* (*Dalbrgia sisoo*), *Vadara*, *Nimba*, *Jambīra* (lemon), *Kṣirika*, *Kharjūra*, *Devakaraja* (*pongania glabra*), *Phālgu*, *Tapiṅchha* (*Tamāla*), *Bhala*, (*Semecarpus anacardium*) *Kudvāla* (ebony), *Lavalī* (phyllanthus distiches), *Dhātri* (wood *fordia floribunda*), *Kramuka* (betel-nut), *Mātūluṅgaka*, *Lakuca*, *Nāri kela*, *Rambhā* (plantain).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Original Sources in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsa

Abhinanda, *Kādambarī-kathāsāra*, ed. Durga Das and K. P. Parab. Bombay, 1925.

Acharya, P. K., *Mānasāra*, ed. Oxford Univ. Press, 1935.

Advayavajra, *Advayavajra-Saṁgraha*, ed. by B. Bhattacharya. Baroda, 1927.

Amara Chand, *Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti*, ed. Jagannath Sastry. Banaras, 1931.

Amara Singh, *Amarakoṣa*, ed. Guru Prasad Sastri. Banaras, 1950.

Amaru, *Amaruśataka*. Bombay, 1900.

Ānandvardhana, *Devī Śataka*, Bombay.

—do.—, *Dhvanyāloka*. Bombay, 1911.

Anaṅgavajra, *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi*, ed. B. Bhattacharya. Baroda, 1929.

Bagchi, P. C., *Dohākoṣa*, ed. Calcutta, 1938.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa, *Harṣacarita*, ed. K. P. Parab. Bombay, 1834. (Śaka)

—do.—, *Harṣacarita*, English tr. E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas. London, 1897.

—do.—, *Kādambarī*, ed. K. P. Parab. Bombay, 1932.

—do.—, *Kādambarī*, English tr. C. M. Ridding. London, 1896.

—do.—, *Caṇḍiśataka*. Bombay, 1899.

Bhallaṭa, *Bhallaṭaśataka*. Bombay, 1899.

Bhartṛhari, *Śatakatrayī* (*Nīti*, *Śṛṅgāra* and *Vairāgya Śatakaś*), ed.

—do.—, D. D. Kosambi. Bombay, 1946.

Bhattacharya, B., *Sādhanamālā*, ed. in 2 vols. Baroda, 1925-28.

Bhattacharya, Chintamani, *Matrikabheda Tantra*, ed. Calcutta, 1933.

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, *Veṇī Saṁhāra*, ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar, Calcutta, 1875.

Bhaṭṭi, *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. Bombay, 1906.

Bhavabhūti, *Mālatī-Mādhavam*, with the comm. Jagaddhara ed. M. R. Telang. Bombay, 1900.

—do.—, *Uttararāmacaritam*, ed. Gurunatha V. Bhattacharya, Calcutta.

—do.—, *Mahāvīracaritam*, ed. Kasi Nath. Bombay, 1901.

Bhoja, *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtra-dhāra*, ed. M. M. T. Ganapati Sastri, in 2 vols. Baroda, 1924-25.
—do.—, *Yuktikalpataru*, ed. Isvara Chandra Sastri. Calcutta, 1917.
Caland, W., *Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtram*, Calcutta, 1941.
Dāmodaragupta, *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, ed. Tansukhrama M. Tripathi. Banaras, 1924.
Daṇḍin, *Daśakumāracaritam*, ed. M. R. Kale, Bombay.
Devanandī, *Nirvāṇabhakti*, collected in the *Daśabhaktyādi Saṁgraha*
Deviprasada Shastri, *Sri Gaṅgā Siṁha Kalpadruma*, Churu.
Dhanañjaya, *Daśarūpakam*, ed. Sudarshanacharya Shastri. Bombay, 1914.
Dhanapāla, *Tilaka-mañjarī*. Bombay, 1903.
Bhaviṣyattkahā (Apabhraṁśa), ed. C. D. Dalal and P. D. Gune. Baroda, 1923.
Ember Krishnamacharya, *Jayākhya Saṁhitā*. Baroda, 1931.
Gadādhara Rājaguru, *Kālasāra*, ed. Sadasiva Misra. Calcutta, 1904.
Bhagavandas,
Halāyudha, *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, ed. Jaya Shanker Joshi, Lucknow.
Haribhadra Sūri, *Dhūrtākhyāna* (Prakrit), ed. A. N. Upadhye. Bombay, 1944.
—do.—, *Samarāiccakahā*, ed. H. Jacobi. Calcutta, 1926.
—do.—, *Samarāiccakahā* with Sanskrit *Chāya*, ed. Bhagavandas, Ahamdabad, 1942.
Hariṣeṇa, *Bṛhatkathākoṣa*, ed. A. N. Upadhye. Bombay, 1943.
Harṣa, *Ratnāvali*. Madras, 1935.
—do.—, *Priyadarśikā*. Madras, 1935.
—do.—, *Nāgānandam*. Banaras, 1947.
Hemacandra, *Sthavirāvalicarita*, ed. H. Jacobi. Calcutta, 1932.
—do.—, *Triṣaṣṭhiśalākā-puruṣa-caritam*, vols. 1-4, Baroda.
Indrabhūti, *Jñānasiddhi*, ed. B. Bhattacharya. Baroda, 1929.
Jalahaṇa, *Sūktimuktāvali*. Baroda, 1938.
Jayadeva, *Gīta Govinda*. Delhi, 1955.
Jinadatta Sūri, *Apabhraṁśakāvyatrayī*, Baroda, 1927.
Jinapāla & others, *Kharataragaccha-Vṛhadgurvāvali*, ed. Jinavijaya Muni, Bombay.
Jinaprabha Sūri, *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*. SJGM 1934.
Jinaṣeṇa I, *Ādipurāṇa*, ed. Panna Lal Jain, in 2 parts. Banaras, 1951.
Jinaṣeṇa II, *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa*, ed. Darbari Lal, in 2 parts. Bombay.
Jyotīśvara Ṭhakkura, *Varṇa-ratnākara*, ed. Suniti Kumar Chatterji. Calcutta, 1940.

Kālīdāsa, *Meghadūta*, ed. Sita Ram Chaturvedi in Kalidasa Granthavali, Banaras.
—do.—, *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala*, ed. Sita Ram Chaturvedi in Kalidasa Granthavali, Banaras.
—do.—, *Raghuvaṁśa*, ed. Sita Ram Chaturvedi in Kalidasa Granthavali, Banaras.
Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, English translation by R. S. Pandit. Allahabad, 1935.
Kamalaśīla. A commentary on the *Tattvasaṁgraha* of Śāntirakṣita in 2 vols. Baroda, 1936.
—do.—, English tr. by G. N. Jha. Baroda, 1937-39.
Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, ed. Shama Sastri. Mysore, 1924.
Kṛṣṇamiśra, *Prabodha Candrodaya*, ed. Ramchandra Misra. Banaras, 1955.
Kṣemendra, *Daśāvatāracarita*. Bombay, 1930.
—do.—, *Cārucaryā*. Bombay, 1896.
—do.—, *Kalāvilāsa*. Bombay, 1886.
—do.—, *Samaymātrikā*. Bombay, 1925.
—do.—, *Narmamālā*, ed. Madhusudan Kaul. Poona, 1930.
—do.—, *Dasopadeśa*, ed. Madhusudan Kaul. Poona, 1930.
Kṣemīśvara, *Caṇḍakauśika*, ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar Bhattacharya. Calcutta, 1931.
Kṣīraswāmī, *Amarakośa-ṭīkā*, ed. Hardatta Sastri. Poona, 1941.
Kumāradāsa, *Jānakīharaṇa*, ed. Gopal R. Nandarjikar. Bombay, 1907.
Kumārilabhaṭṭa, *Tantravārttika*, ed. Banaras, 1890.
—do.—, English translation, M. M. Ganganath Jha, in 2 vols. Calcutta, 1924.
Lakṣmīdhara, *Kṛtyakalpataru*, ed. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Baroda. (*Gṛhasthakāṇḍa*, *Vratakāṇḍa*, *Tīrthakāṇḍa* & *Niyatakālakāṇḍa*).
Madanakīrti, *Śāsana-caturtriṁśikā*. Saharanpur, 1949.
Mādhava, *Mādhavanidāna*, in 2 vols., Delhi.
Mādhava, *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha*, ed. Abhyankar. Poona, 1951.
Māgha, *Śiśupāla-vadha*, ed. Durga Prasad and Siva Datta. Bombay, 1917.
Mahendravarman, *Mattavilāsa Prahasanam*.
Maheśvara Sūri, *Jñāna-pañcamī-kahā* (Prakrit), ed. A. S. Gopani. Bombay, 1949.
Matsyendra Nātha, *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, ed. P. C. Bagchi. Calcutta, 1934.

Medhātithi, *Manu-smṛti-bhāṣya*, ed. G. N. Jha. Calcutta, 1932-39.
Mitra Miśra, *Vīramitrodaya, Rājanītiprākāśa*, ed. Vishnu Prasad. Banaras, 1916.
—do.—, *Vīramitrodaya, Tīrthaprakāśa*, ed. Vishnu Prasad. Banaras, 1917.
Padmanābha, *Kāṇhaḍadeprabandha*, ed. K. V. Vyasa. Jaipur, 1953.
Padmaśrī, *Nāgara Sarvasva*, ed. Bhagiratha Swami. Calcutta, 1929.
Parimala, *Navasāhasāṅkacaritam*, ed. Vaman Sastri Islampurkar. Bombay, 1895.
PURANAS. *Agni Purāṇa*; Calcutta, 1957. English tr. M. N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1901.
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Gorakhpur.
Bhaviṣya Purāṇa. Bombay, 1910.
Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, in 2 vols. Calcutta, 1955.
Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa, ed. P. Harikesha Sastri. Calcutta, 1891.
Kūrma Purāṇa, ed. Nilamani Mukhopadhyaya. Calcutta, 1890.
Liṅga Purāṇa, ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar. Calcutta, 1885.
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Bombay.
Matsya Purāṇa. Calcutta, 1954.
Nīlamata Purāṇa, ed. K. De Vreese. Leiden, 1936.
Padma Purāṇa (*Sṛṣṭi-khanda* & *Uttar-khaṇḍa*). Calcutta, 1957.
Sāmba Purāṇa, Bombay.
Skanda Purāṇa (*Nāgara-khaṇḍa*), Bombay.
Varāha Purāṇa, Bombay, 1902.
Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Gorakhapur.
Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, Bombay, 1912.
Puṣpadanta, *Mahāpurāṇa* (Apabhraṁśa), ed. P. L. Vaidya, in 3 vols. Bombay, 1937-41.
Puṣpadanta, *Śivamahimnastotram*, ed. Gomati Prasad Misra. Varanasi.
Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Baroda, 1934.
—do.—, *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, ed. Jivananda Vidyasagara. Calcutta, 1884.
—do.—, *Bālabhārata*, ed. Pt. Durga Prasad and Kasi Natha Pandu-ranga Parab. Bombay, 1887.
—do.—, *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, ed. Jitendra Bimal Chaudhari. Calcutta, 1943.
—do.—, *Karpūramañjarī* (Prakrit), ed. Sten Konow. Cambridge, 1901.

Ram Singh Munri, *Pahuḍā-dohā* (Apabhraṁśa), ed. H. L. Jain. Amraoti, 1933.

Ratnākara, *Haravijya*, ed. Durga Prasad and K. P. Parab. Bombay, 1890.

Śaṅkarācārya, *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*, ed. Vasudeva Sharma. Bombay, 1934. English translation. Thibaut. Oxford.

—do.—, *Ānanda Laharī*, ed. R. Anantakrishna Sastri. Madras, 1957.

Śāntideva, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, ed. Shanti Bhikshu Sastri. Lucknow, 1955.

—do.—, *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, ed. Cecil, Bendell. Hague, 1957. Śantirakṣita, *Tattva-saṁgraha*, ed. E. K. Krishnamacharya. Baroda, 1936.

Sarahapāda, *Dohākośa*, ed. Pt. Rahula Sankrityayana, Patna, 1957.

Sarvajñamitra, *Gaṇakārikā*, ed. C .D. Dalal. Baroda, 1921.

Sarvānanda, *Amarkośaṭīkā*, ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, in 4 Parts (1914-17), Trivandrum.

Siddharṣi Sūri, *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā*, ed. P. Peterson and H. Jacobi. Calcutta, 1889-1914.

—do.—, ed. Devachanda Lalbhai, Bombay, 1918-20.

Sircar D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1942.

Śivaswāmin, *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, ed. Gauri Shanker. Lahore, 1937.

Smrtis. *Manu Smṛti*, Bombay, 1923.

Yājñavalkya Smṛti, with the *Mitākṣarā Ṭīkā* of Vijñeśvara. Bombay, 1926.

Parāśara Smṛti, ed. Rama Chandra Sharma. Moradabad, 1925.

Bṛhaspati Smṛti, ed. K. V. Rangaswami A iyangar. Baroda, 1941. English translation by J. Jolly. Oxford.

Smṛtināma Samuccaya (a collection of Twenty-seven Smṛtis i.e., *Aṅgira*, *Atri Smṛti*, *Atri Saṁhitā*, *Āpastamba*, *Auśānasa*, *Gobhila*, *Dakṣa*, *Devala*, *Prajāpati*, *Bṛhadyama*, *Bṛhaspati*, *Yama*, *Laghu-Viṣṇu*, *Laghu-Śaṁkha*, *Laghu-Śatātapa*, *Laghu-Hārīta*, *Laghvāśvalāyana*, *Likhita*, *Vasiṣṭha*, *Vṛddha Śatātapa*, *Veda Vyāsa*, *Śaṁkhalikhita*, *Śaṁkha*, *Śatātapa*, *Samvarta* and *Baudhāyana*), ed. Vinya Ganesha Apte Poona, 1929.

Aṣṭādaśasmṛtis (A collection of eighteen Smṛtis, i. e., *Atri*, *Viṣṇu*, *Hārīta*, *Auśānasa*, *Aṅgirasa*, *Yama*, *Āpastamba*, *Samvarta*, *Kātyayana*, *Bṛhaspati*, *Parāśara*, *Vyāsa*, *Śaṁkha*, *Likhita*, *Dakṣa*, *Gautama*, *Śatātapa*, *Vasiṣṭha*). Bombay.

Soḍḍhala, *Udayasundarīkathā*, ed. C. D. Dalal. Baroda, 1920.
Somadeva Sūri, *Yaśastilaka Campū*, ed. Pt. Sivadatta. Bombay, 1916.
Someśvara, *Mānasollāsa*, vol. II, ed. G. K. Sri Gondekar, Bombay, 1939.
Subandhu, *Vāsavadattā*, ed. Louis H. Gray. New York, 1924.
Śukrācārya, *Śukranīti*. Bombay. English translation B. K. Sarkar, Allahabad, 1923.
Swāmī-Trivikrama Tīrtha, *Pārānanda Sūtra*, ed. Baroda, 1931.
Udyotana Sūri, *Kuvalayamālākahā* (Prakrit), ed. Dr. A. N. Upadhaye. Bombay, 1959.
Vācaspati Miśra, *Sāṁkhyatattvakaumudī*, ed. MM. Ganganatha Jha and Dr. Har Datt Sharma. Poona, 1934.
—do.—, *Tattvavaiśāradī*. Poona, 1919.
Vāgbhaṭṭa, *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, with the commentary of Aruṇadatta. Lahore, 1933.
—do.—, *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* with the commentary of Śrīdāsapaṇḍita. Trivandrum, 1940
Vākpati, *Gauḍavaho* (Prakrit), ed. Narayana Bapuji Utggkar. Poona, 1927.
Varāhamihira, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* ed. with English translation by Pandit Bhusana V. Subramanyam. Banglore, 1947.
—do.—, *Bṛhajjātaka* with the commentary of Utapala. ed. Sita Ram Jha. Banaras, 1934.
Vātsyāyana, *Kāmasūtra*, ed. D. L. Goswami. Benaras, 1929.
Viśākhadatta, *Mudrā-rākṣasa* by Kasinath Trimbak Telang. Bombay, 1908.
Viṣṇu Śarmā, *Pañcatantra*, ed. Pt. Surya Prasad Shastri, Banaras, 1938.
Yaśapāla, *Moharājaparājaya*. Baroda, 1920.

II. Foreign Accounts

Beal Samual, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*. London, 1911.
—do.—, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 vols. 1906.
Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vols. I & II. London, 1866 ff.
Legge, J. H., *Records of the Buddhist Kingdoms being an account of the Chinese Monk, Fahien's Travels*. Oxford, 1886.
Mirza Kalich Beg Fredunbeg, *The Chachnām*, Karachi, 1900.
Sachau, E. C., *Alberuni's India*, in 2 vols. London, 1914.
Saint Hilaire, *Hiouen Thsang in India*. Calcutta, 1952.

Takakusu, J. A., *Record of the Buddhistic Religion as practised in India and the Malaya Archipelago* by I-tsing. Oxford, 1896.
Watters, Thomas, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*. London, 1904-5.

III. Periodicals, Memoirs and Catalogues, etc.

A Catalogue of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art, Dr. V. S. Agrawal
Adyar Library Bulletin
Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Annual Report of Rajputana Museum.
Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
Bhārtiyā Vidyā (English). Bombay.
Catalogue of the Manuscripts at Patan, Vol. I, ed. by Dalal and Gandhi.
GOS, Baroda.
Epigraphica Indica.
Indian Antiquary.
Indian Historical Quarterly.
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.
Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta.
Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.
Journal of Indian History.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kalyāṇa (Hindi), Gorakhpur.
Kāyastha Samācāra, Allahabad.
Maru Bhāratī (Hindi), Pilani.
Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, (Hindi), Kashi.
New Indian Antiquary.
The Poona Orientalist.
Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
Progress Report of Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.
Purāṇam (English and Sanskrit), Kashi.
The Mahā Bodhi.

IV. Modern Works

Agrawal, Moti Chandra, *Bhārtīya Veśa Bhūṣā* (Hindi), Prayaga.
Agrawal, V. S., *Haraṣcarita—Ek Śāṅskṛtika Adhyayana* (Hindi), Patna, 1953.
—do.—, *Kādambarī : Ek Sāṅskṛtika Adhyayana* (Hindi), Banaras, 1958.

Agrawal, V.S., *India as known to Pāṇini*. Lucknow, 1953.
Altekar, A. S., *Education in Ancient India*, Banaras, 1951.
—do.—, *Position of Women in Ancient India*. Benaras, 1956.
—do.—, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, Poona, 1934.
—do.—, *Mantraśāstra and Jainism*, Banaras Hindu University Bulletin.
—do.—, *State and Government in Ancient India*. Banaras, 1958.
Anand, Mulk Raj, *Bride's Book of Beauty*. Bombay, 1947.
Arthor Avalon, *Shakti and Shaktas*. Madras, 1929.
Bagchi, P. C., *Studies in Tantras*. Calcutta, 1939.
Banerjea, J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*. Calcutta, 1956.
Banerji, R. D., *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*. Delhi, 1933
Barnet, L. D., *Antiquities of India*. London, 1913.
Basham, A. L. *The History and Doctrine of the Ājivakas*. London, 1951.
—do.—, *The Wonder that was India*. London, 1954.
Belvalkar, S. K., *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*. Poona, 1915.
Bhandari Sukhasampat Rai, *Oswāl-Jāti Kā Itihāsa* (Hindi). Indore, 1934.
Bhandarker, R. G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Śavism and Minor Religious Systems*. Poona, 1928.
Bharati, Dharma Vira, *Siddha Sāhitya* (Hindi). Allahabad, 1955.
Bhattacharya, B., *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, London. 1932.
—do.—, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*. Calcutta, 1958.
Bhattacharya, B. C., *Jain Iconography*. Lahore, 1939.
Bhattasali, N. K., *The Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in Dacca Museum*. Dacca, 1929.
Bose, P. N., *Indian Teachers of the Buddhist Universities*. Madras, 1923.
Briggs, George. W., *Gorakhanath and the Kanaphata Yogis*. Calcutta, 1938.
—do.—, *The Chamars*, Oxford University Press, 1920.
Chakladhara, *Social Life in India*. Calcutta, 1929.
Chakravarti, Prabhat Chandra, *Doctrine of Sakti in Indian Literature*. Calcutta, 1940.
Chanda, R. P., *Medieval Indian Sculpture in British Museum*. London, 1936.
Chatterji, J. C., *Kashmir Śaivism*. Srinagar, 1914.
Dasgupta, S. B., *Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature*. Calcutta, 1946.
—do.—, *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*. Calcutta, 1955.
Dasgupta, S. N., *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vols. I. & II. Calcutta, 1932.

Dasgupta, S. N. and De, S. K., *History of Sanskrit Literature*. Calcutta, 1947.
Das, S. C., *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*. Calcutta, 1893.
Deo, S. B., *History of Jain Monachism*. Poona, 1956.
Dikshita, N. K., *Excavations at Paharpur*. Delhi, 1938.
Dikshitar, Shanker Bal Krishna., *Bhārtīya Jyotiṣa Śāstra* (Marathi). Poona, 1931. Hindi translation. Siva Nath Jharkhanda, U. P.
Dowson John, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*. 8th edition. London, 1953.
Dutt, B. B., *Town Planning in Ancient India*. Calcutta, 1925.
Dutt, B. N., *Mystic Tales of Lāmā Tārānātha*, Calcutta, 1944.
Dutt, Nalinaksha, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hināyana*. London, 1930.
Dutt, N. K., *The Origin of Caste*, Vol. I.
Dvivedi, Hazari Prasad, *Nātha Sampradāya* (Hindi). Allahabad, 1952.
Farquhar, J. N. *An Outline of Religious Literature of India*. London, 1920.
Fick, R., *The Social Organization in North-East India during times of Buddha*. Calcutta, 1920.
Fergusson, J., *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. London, 1910.
Getty, Allice, *Gaṇeśa, A Monograph*. Oxford, 1936.
Ghoshal U. N., *The Agrarian Systems in Ancient India*. Calcutta, 1930.
—do.—, *A History of Indian Political Ideas*. Oxford, 1959.
Ghurey G. S., *Indian Costumes*. Bombay, 1951.
Gode P. K., *Studies in Indian Literary History*, 3 Vols. Bombay, 1953-56.
Handiqui, K. K., *Yaśastilaka Champu and Indian Culture*. Sholapur, 1949.
Havell, E. V., *Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*. London, 1915.
Hazra, R. C., *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*. Calcutta, 1940.
—do.—, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Calcutta, 1958.
Hutton, I. H., *Caste in India*. Cambridge, 1946.
Jain, Jagdish Chandra, *Life in India as depicted in Jain Canons*. Bombay, 1947.
Jackson, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I.
Jayaswal, K. P., *History of India from* 150 *A. D. to* 350 *A. D.*, Lahore, 1933.

Jayaswal, K. P. *Imperial History of India*, Lahore, 1934.
Kakati, Bani Kanta, *The Mother Goddess Kamakya*. Gohati Publishing Corporation.
Kak, R. C., *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*. London, 1933.
Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra Literature*, Vols. I, II, III & IV. Poona.
Keith, A. B., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*. Oxford, 1928.
—do.—, *Indian Logic and Atomism*. Oxford, 1921.
—do.—, *The Sāṁkhya System*. Oxford.
Kern H., *Manual of Buddhism*. Strassburg, 1896.
Krishnamacharier, M., *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*. Madras 1937.
Law, B. C., *Tribes in Ancient India*.
Lodha Daulat Singha, *Prāgvāṭa Jāti kā Itihāsa* (Hindi).
Maity, S. K., *Economic Life in Northern India in Gupta Period* (Cir A. D. 300-500). Calcutta, 1957.
Majumdar, Asoka Kumara, *Chaulukyas of Gujrat*. Bombay, 1956.
Majumdar, R. C., *Corporate Life in Ancient India*. Calcutta, 1922.
—do.—, *History of Bengal*. ed. Vol. I. Dacca, 1943.
—do.—, *The Vakāṭaka-Gupta Age*. Banaras, 1954.
—do.—, *The Classical Age*. Bombay, 1954.
—do.—, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*. Bombay, 1955.
Mitra, S. K., *Early Rulers of Khajuraho*. Calcutta, 1958.
Mookerji, R. K., *The Gupta Empire*. Bombay, 1952.
Nahta, Agra Chanda, *Bikaner Jain Lekha Sangraha*. Calcutta.
Ojha, G. H., *Dūṅgarpur Rājya-kā-Itihāsa*. (Hindi), Ajmer, 1936.
—do.—, *Jodhpur Rājya kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), Ajmer, 1938.
—do.—, *Madhyakālīna Bhārtiya Saṅskṛti*. (Hindi), Allahabad, 1951.
Pandey, Raj Bali, *Hindu Saṅskāras*. Banaras, 1949.
Pandey Raj Bali., *Hindi Sāhitya kā Ḅṛhat Itihāsa* (ed.) (Hindi) Part I. Kashi.
Pannikkar, K. M., *Origin and Evolution of Kingship in India*.
Prabhu, A. N., *Hindu Social Organisation*. Bombay, 1958.
Premi, Nathu Ram., *Jain Sāhitya Aur Itihāsa*. (Hindi), Bombay, 1956.
Puri, B. N., *The History of Gurjra-Pratihāras*. Bombay, 1957.
Radhakrishnan., *Indian Philosophy*, 2 vols. London, 1923-27.
Rao, T. G. N., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 2 Vols. Madras, 1914-16.
Ray Chaudhri, S. C., *Early History of the Visṇava Sect*. 1920.
—do.—, *Political History of Ancient India*. Calcutta, 1950.
Ray, H. C., *Dynastic History of Northern India*. Vol. I. Calcutta, 1931.

Ray, P. C., *History of Chemistry in Ancient and Medieval India*. Calcutta, 1956.
Reu, Visvanatha, *Rāja Bhoja* (Hindi). Allahabad, 1932.
Richard, A. Leonardo, *History of Surgery*. New York, 1943.
Salatore, R. N., *Life in Gupta Age*. Bombay, 1943.
Sankalia H. D., *Archaeolcgy of Gujrat*. Bombay, 1941.
Sankrityayana, Rahūla, *Purātattav-Nibandhāvali* (Hindi). Allahabad, 1958.
Sarasvati, S. K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*. Calcutta, 1957.
Sarda, H. B., *Speeches and Writings*. Ajmer, 1935.
Sastri Nilkanta, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* (ed.) Banaras, 1952.
—do.—, *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1957.
Schadar, F. Otto., *Introduction to the Pāñchrātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*. Madras, 1916.
Sen, A., *Schools and Sects in Jain Literature*. Vishvabharti, 1931.
Sen, B. C., *Some Historical Aspects of the Bengal Inscriptions*. Calcutta, 1942.
Seṇ, Kshitimohan, *Saṅskṛti-Saṁgama*. Allahabad, 1951
Sen S. N., *India Through Chinese Eyes*. Madras, 1956.
Shah, U. P., *Studies in Jain Art*, Banaras, 1955.
Sharma, Dasharatha, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*. Delhi, 1959.
Sharma, Ram Saran, *Sudras in Ancient India*. Banaras, 1958.
Sinha, B. P., *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*. Varanasi, 1954.
Smith, V. A., *The Early History of India*, Oxford, 1957.
—do.—, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*. Oxford.
Tripathi, R. S., *History of Kanauj*. Banaras, 1959.
Upadhyaya, Nagendra Nath, *Tāntrika Baudha Sadhanā aur Sāhitya*, (Hindi), Kashi
Vaidya, C. V., *History of Medieval Hindu India*, 3 Vols. Poona, 1921-26.
Valee, *Tāntrism*, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII. 1936.
Bapat. P. V., 2500 *years of Buddhism*, (ed.) Delhi, 1956.
Vidya-Bhūshan, Satish Chandra, *History of Indian Logic*. Calcutta, 1952.
Virjee, J. Krishna, *Ancient History of Saurastra*. Bombay, 1952.
Wadell, L. A., *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*. London, 1895.
Winternitz, Maurice, *History of Indian Literature*, 2 vols. Translated into English. Calcutta, 1927-1933.
Zimmer Henry, R., *Hindu Medicine*. Baltimore, 1948.

INDEX

A

Abhidhānaratnamālā—2, 71, 273, 278
Abhidhāvṛttimātrikā—94
Abhijñānaśākuntala—5
Abhinanda—100
Abhinavagupta—144
Ābhīra (s)—64
Abu-Zaid—24, 157, 245, 304, 322
Acāraṅga Commentary—272
Ādipurāṇa—230
Ādisūra—43
Āditya Purāṇa—23, 261
Ādityavardhana—156
Ādivarāha—3
Advayavajra—205
Āgamas—81
Agastya—30
Agni—6, 176
Agni Purāṇa—53, 112, 114, 149,
Agnihotra—7
160, 180, 241, 244, 248, 261, 331
Agrawal, Dr. V. S.—114, 179, 271-5, 319
Ahichatra—43, 278, 303
Ahiṁsā—6
Aitreya Brāhmaṇa—63
Ajanta Paintings—274
Ajayagadha Inscription—59
Ajirvatī—315
Ajīvikas—215
Ajmer—314
Alaṁkārasaṁgraha—94
Alberuni—11, 15, 17, 20, 23, 29, 37, 40, 42-3, 45-6, 49, 51, 60-61, 67, 78, 82, 91, 107-10, 157, 160, 170, 223-4, 227, 235-6, 252, 258, 260-62, 279, 281, 283, 291, 297-8, 328-30, 332
Alchemy—111
Alexander wall—313
Al-Istakhri—157
Alla—16
Allahabad Pillar Inscription—64
Al-Masudi—36,157,304
Altekar, Dr. A. S.—15-16, 23, 114
Alutbi—314
Amara—88
Amaracanda—29
Amarakoṣa—181, 271-3, 275,278
Amarasiṁgha—5
Amaruśataka—100
Ambaṣṭha—63
Ānandalaharī—163
Ānandapura—43
Ānandavardhana—94-5, 100
Anaṅgavajra—205
Āndhra—63
Aṅgārikā—29
Aṅgirasa—20-22, 41-2
Aṅguttara Nikāya—64
Anhillapaṭṭa—312
Aniruddha—12
Antyajas—8; classes of 60-61, 66
Anuloma marriage—8, 16, 62
Aparārka—25
Āpastamba Smṛti—41
Aphasad Stone Ins.—227
Arab (s)—2-3, 36, 326-7, 336
Arcaṭa—102
Arjuna—12
Arjunacarita—95
Ārṣa (form of marriage)—13
Arthaśāstra—75
Āryabhaṭṭa—5
Āryamahāsaṁghika Nikāya—81
Āryamūlasarvāstivāda Nikāya—81

Āryasammatiya Nikāya—81
Āryasthavira Nikaya—81
Āryasura—88
Āryavarta—327
Asaṅga—81, 195-6
Āśāpurī (goddess)—168
Aśoka (Mauryan king)—2, 238
Aśoka (philosopher)—philosophical works of—102
Āśramas—45
Assam—272, 277, 303
Aṣṭādhyāyī—287, 292, 294, 301
Astrology—8, literature on 108-110
Astronomy—literature on 108-110
Asura (form of marriage)—13
Aśvaghoṣa—82, 204
Aśvamedha—6, 222, 225, 261
Aśvatthāmā—83
Atharvaveda—178
Atiśayakṣetras (Jain pilgrimages)—230, 232-3
Ātreyī—30
Atri—41, 60
Atri Smṛti—331
Auśānasa Smṛti—58, 62-3, 66, 76
Avantideśa—285
Avantipura—312
Avantisundarī—32, 67
Avantivarman—56, 94, 152, 306, 312
Ayodhyā—29
Āyurveda—literature on 110; eight sections of 110

B

Backward Classes—60, 61
Bad Gujars—49
Badal Pillar Ins.—151
Bālabhārata—95
Bālāditya—96
Balarāma—175, 180, 303
Bālarāmāyaṇa—95
Bālaraṇḍās—18
Bālavidhavās—18
Balhara States—23
Bāṇa (bhaṭṭa)—2, 19-21, 24, 26-7, 30, 41, 43, 45, 47, 61, 82, 86, 88, 92, 98-100, 117, 122, 124, 132, 153, 160-64, 166, 175, 207, 218, 242-5, 252-4, 267, 270-76, 278-9, 282-3, 287, 290, 301-2, 307-10, 315-16; companions of 316-17, 318-21, 324, 331, 335
Banaphars—48
Bappabbaṭṭi—208
Bārhaspatyasutras—218
Basham, Dr. A. L.—216
Baudhāyana—18, 63
Bauka—95-6
Benaras—78, 92
Bengal—2-3, 7, 43, 45, 87, 90, 107, 271-2, 285
Bentinck, Lord William—21
Bhadrā—97
Bhagadattas—47
Bhāgalpur Plate—97, 129
Bhagavadgītā—333
Bhāgavata Purāṇa—12, 114, 145, 333
Bhāgavatas—6, 153-4, 330
Bhagavatī—195-6
Bhairvācārya—130
Bhairvānanda—186
Bhākmiśra—39
Bhākpṛthu—100
Bhakti—6, 8, 56, 333
Bhallaṭa—95
Bhallaṭaśataka—95
Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R.—42-3, 47-8
Bhandarkar, R. G.—158
Bhānugupta—1
Bhārata—32
Bhāratavarṣa—5
Bhāravī—88
Bhartṛhari—33, 88-9, 107
Bhā-Sarvajña—philosophical works of 105, 138-9
Bhāskarācārya—182, 187
Bhāskaravarman—2, 128, 272
Bhaṭṭa Kumārila—19; philo-

sophical works of 105, 302-3, 329, 336
Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa—22, 100, 271
Bhaṭṭa Phālguṇa—79
Bhaṭṭa Sarvagupta—98
Bhaṭṭa Śrīdhara—philosophical works of 105
Bhaṭṭi—93
Bhaṭṭikāvya—93, 291
Bhavabhūti—15, 24, 26, 30, 35, 41, 84, 93-4, 155, 157, 160, 176, 185, 292, 335
Bhaviṣya Purāṇa—43, 158, 297
Bhaviṣyatkahā—50-52, 85, 284, 295
Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa—259
Bhilamala (Bhinamala)—27, 100, 156
Bhīma—22
Bhoja (Paramāra)—307
Bhoja (Pratihāra)—312
Bhojakas—43, 329
Bhopal—307
Bijapur Ins.—209
Bodhicaryāvatāra—199
Bodhisattvas—190
Brāhma (form of marriage)—13
Brahmā—6, 122-3, 135, 145, 147, 160, 163, 173; sculptures and temples of 174-5, 223-4, 229, 244, 333
Brahmakṣatriyas—50, 630
Brāhmaṇa (s)—6-8, 15-18, 28, 36-43; sub-divisions of 42-3; Atri's classification of 44; monopoly of 45; as rulers 46, 48-9; education for 82-3, 123, 200, 226-7, 236, 241-2, 244, 249, 251-3, 259, 291, 299, 302, 326-31, 336
Brahmapurāṇa—236
Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad—64
Bṛhajjātaka—216
Bṛhaspati—54, 76, 306
Bṛhatkathā—324
Bṛhatkathākoṣa—11, 100, 213, 239, 295, 311
Bṛhatparāśara—12
Bṛhatsaṁhitā—123, 157, 167, 173, 176-9, 207, 243, 269, 312
British Museum Fragmentary Insc.—98
Buddha—2, 5, 122, 155, 190, 196, 207, 221, 228-9, 332
Buddhacarita—82
Buddhism—5-6; in the seventh cen. 190-4; later developments of 194 ff; Pala kings' patronage to 195; deities of 201-3; rituals of 203-6, 333-4, 336-7
Buddhists—6-7, 21, 33, 37, 292, 299, 331, 333
Bundelakhaṇḍa—47
Būṭā—28

C

Cacanāmāh—246, 314
Cāhamāna Caṇḍamahāsena—22
Cakrāyudha—97
Camārs—68
Campbell—47-8
Cāṇa*kya*—84
Caṇḍakauśika—142-3, 186-7
Cāṇḍāla (s)—61; types of 68; 164, 308; colony of 310-11
Candra—99
Candragupta II—5-7
Candragupta Maurya—33
Candrakevalicarita—100
Candrāpīḍa—13, 21, 37, 67, 76-7, 164, 245, 251-2, 267, 318; palace of 320
Capital punishment—7
Carakas—215
Cārāyaṇa—16
Carmakhaṇḍikas—217
Cārucaryā—27
Cārvāks—217-18
Caryāpadas—198
Caṣṭana—277
Caste System—7, 12, 36 ff; rigidity and traditionalism in 327-8; dynamic attitude towards 329-31

Cataka—94
Cāṭsu—47-8
Cāturvarṇya—7, 49
Cauhānas—3-4, 39, 47-8, 129
Caulukyas—4, 47-8, 129, 133, 157, 208
Cedis—4, 47
Central India—1, 287
Ceylon—277
Chandellas—4, 47-8, 129, 133, 151, 178, 307
China—90, 336
Chinese—36, 327
Citrakūṭa—312
Courtesans—27-9
Cāḍākarma—6
Cūtalatikā—25

D

Dadhica—277, 279
Dadhimati Insc.—42
Dāhir—3, 32, 39, 314, 328
Daiva (form of marriage)—13
Dakṣa—35
Dāmodaragupta—26-8, 39, 89, 92, 94, 317
Dāmodarapur Insc.—58
Daṇḍakāraṇya—30
Daṇḍin—26-7, 93
Dantidurga—3-4
Dantila—32
Dantivarman—126
Daśakumāra carita—26-7, 82, 250, 293
Daśarūpaka—28
Dattakācārya—32
Deccan—3
Deḍḍādevī—97
Delhi—314
Deo, Dr. S. B.—207
Depressed classes—60-61
Devadāsī—8, 332
Devagadha—278
Devagupta—1
Devala—85, 222, 238, 291
Devala Smṛti—298, 331, 335
Devānanda—98
Devanandī—230
Devapāla—3, 26, 34, 39, 97, 195, 328
Devaśarman—39
Devendrabodhi—philosophical works of 102
Devī Purāṇa—216
Devī Śataka—94-5
Dhammapada—64
Dhanañjaya—28
Dhanapāla—29, 52, 96, 208, 212, 271
Dhaneśvarasūri—96, 208
Dhaṅga—228
Dharmakīrti — philosophical works of 101, 102-4, 193
Dharmapāla—3, 26, 30, 38, 45, 91, 97, 102, 132, 195
Dharmapāla (philosopher)—101, 193
Dharmasūtras—292
Dharmottara — philosophical works of 102, 104
Dhāvaka—92
Dhavala—209
Dholpur Ins.—22
Dhruvasena II—2
Dhūrtākhyāna—30, 100
Dhvanyāloka—94-5
Diḍḍā—23, 33, 39
Digambaras (Jain)—207-10, 329
Dikpālas (Digpālas)—176-8, 333
Dinnāga—philosophical works of 104
Divākaramitrā—21, 87, 98, 207, 325
Dohākośas—198, 214
Ḍombīpā—55
Dowry system—12
Draupadī—22
Dress—270-83; clothing varieties 271-5; washing, dying and printing of cloth 275-6; male costumes 276-80; of Buddhist monks 280-81; female dress 281-3; regional varieties of 284-5

Drinks—kinds of waters 300; syrups 301; use of liquor 301-4
Droṇa—83
Durgā (s)—165, 236, 332, *see also Śakti*
Durgāsaptaśatī—163
Durlabhādevī—14
Durlabhavardhana—47
Dwivedi, Dr. H. P.—197
Dwivedi, Pt. Sudhakar—109
Dvyāśrayamahākavya—14

E

Eastern women's country—32
Education—10; conception of 74-5; objects of 76-7; primary 77-9; higher 79-80; Buddhist 80-82; for Brāhmaṇas 82-3; for princes and Kṣatriyas 83-4; for Vaiśyas 84-5; for Śūdras 85-6; institutions of 86-9; famous centres of 89-92
Eran—1

F

Fahien—7, 61, 201
Festivals (ceremonies)—258-265; Āndolanatṛtiyā 260; anointment ceremony 263; birth ceremony 263; *Dīkṣotsava* (Jain) 264; Dīpamālikā 260; Dīpapratipadotsava 259-60; Diwālī 260, 262; Holī 258; Kaumudīmahotsava 239, 259; Madanotsava 258; Mahānavamī 260-61; Upavasatha day (Buddhist) 264; Vaṭasāvitrī day 260, 337
Fisherman—8
Fleet, Dr.—305
Food—7, 287-300; fruits and vegetables 289-90; milk and its products 290; meat diet 290-92; spices 292-3; preparations of 293-6; seasonal variations in 296; betel chewing 296; forbidden 297-9; some general rules regarding 299-300, 336
Furgusson—132

G

Gaṇakārikā—138-9
Gāndharva (form of marriage)—13
Gandharvas—333
Gaṇeśa (Gaṇapati)—135, 159-62; names of 160; sects of the worshippers of 161; images of 161-2; 178, 333
Gaṅgā—2, 177, 179-80, 221, 223, 227
Gaṅgadhara Stone Insc.—6
Garga—26, 38
Gauḍapāda — philosophical works 105, 106
Gauḍas—1-2, 47
Gauḍavāho—2, 94, 123, 161, 179, 243, 307
Gaurī—16, 122, 135, 166, 244, 261-2
Gautamas—215
Ghaṭacaṭakas—220
Ghaṭiyāla Insc.—22, 43
Ghoshal, Dr. U. N.—114
Girirohās—219
Goggā—16
Gopāla I (Pāla ruler)—97, 195
Gopāla—56
Gopālavarman—23
Goparāja—1, 8
Gotra—8, 12, 55
Govinda—works of 106
Govratas—217
Grahavarman (Maukhari king)—47, 254, 323
Grammar—38; schools of 107; works on 107
Greece—29
Guhilas—39, 47-8
Guhilots—4

Guhyasamāja Tantra—118, 181, 198-9, 202, 205
Gujarat—3
Guṇamati—91
Guṇasādhvī—31
Gunthur, Dr.—197
Guptas—1-2, 5-6, 8
Gurjaras—47, 326
Gurmāh Plate—59
Guru—6, 34
Gwalior—1, 57, 313
Gwalior *Praśasti* of Bhoja—96

H

Halāyudha—56, 176, 216, 271
Haṁsvega—323
Hanumān—178-9
Haravijaya—94-5, 284, 303
Haribhadra Sūri—31, 52, 80,
Haribhadrapāda (Buddhist)—47; philosophical works of 102 100, 103; philosophical works of 104, 208, 211-12, 218, 335
Haricandra (Pratihāra)—16, 48
Hariścandra—88
Hariṣeṇa—11, 100, 239, 295, 311
Hārīta—248-9
Hārīta Smṛti—298
Harivaṁśa Purāṇa (Jain)—230
Harivarman—45, 328
Harṣa (vardhana)—1-2, 4, 11, 13, 20-22, 24, 27; general council of 31; 37, 43, 45; caste of 47; 83, 86-9, 92, 122, 128-30, 155, 194, 244-5, 258-9, 272, 277-9, 287, 290, 303, 309, 315; *skandhāvara* of 318; *rājakula* of 319; 320, 323-4, 328, 335
Harṣacaritā—10, 14, 20, 59, 87, 92, 98, 124-5, 153, 173, 187, 218, 249, 254, 272-3, 276, 278-9, 282, 284, 293, 302, 315, 319
Hasan Nazami—313-14
Hastitāpas—219
Hemacandra—14
Hemādri—238
Hetuvidyā—81-2, 87
Himalayas—1, 7, 301
Himatala—287
Hīnayāna Buddhism—80, 91, 190, schools of 190, 191, 195
Hindus—6-7, 10, 15, 37, 279, 333, 337
Hinduism—6, 8, 128; deities and sectarial systems of 128 ff; 195, 212, 246; socio-religious rites of 247-58; 329, 334, 336-7
Hindukush—5
Hospitals—7
Hūṇas—1, 48-9, 326, 329
Hunters—8

I

Ibn Khurdadba—49, 302
Icchādevī—26
India—2-4, 7, 283, 287, 289, 292, 296, 305
Indians—23, 29, 37, 332
Indra—6, 97, 122, 176, 229, 259
Iṣṭā—16
I-tsing—28, 37, 51, 61, 74, 77-8, 80, 87, 90-91, 107, 193-4, 201, 203, 205, 227-9, 265-6, 273, 276, 280, 287, 290, 293, 299, 301

J

Jackson—47-8
Jains—6-7, 216, 328, 333
Jainism—6, 206; sects of 207-9; chief centres of 208; deities and sculptures in 209-10; moral discipline and ethics in 210-13; Tāntrik form of 212-14, 329, 333, 335, 337
Jalandhar—2, 287-8
Jalhaṇa—32
Jālor—100
Jānakiharaṇa—216
Janasaṁsada—29

Jaratkumārī—14
Jātyapakarṣa—8, 67
Jātyutkarṣa—8, 67
Jāvāli—86
Jayādityā—79, 107
Jayānaka—14
Jayanta—philosophical works of 104
Jayantabhaṭṭa—100
Jayāpiḍa—39, 94, 151, 312
Jayasena—87, 92
Jeṭāri—philosophical works of 103
Jinabhadrakṣamā Śramaṇa—philosophical works of 103
Jhālarpāṭaṇ—98
Jñānacandra—87
Jodhpur Ins.—96, 223, 226

K

Kabul—46
Kādambarī (princess)—14, 29; palace of 321
Kādambarī—13, 21-30, 39, 76-7, 86, 92, 96, 100, 117, 122, 132, 164, 187, 245, 249, 251, 266-7, 276, 310, 313, 315, 319-20, 323
Kādambarīkathāsāra—100
Kadambas—8, 30
Kahaun Jain temple—6
Kālacakrayāna—195, 198
Kālāmukhas—138, 142-4, 220
Kalañjara—313
Kalās (sixty-four)—32, 268
Kalāvatī—14
Kalāvilāsa—27
Kalhaṇa—18, 24, 28, 39, 87, 94, 151, 170, 181
Kali-age—19, 326
Kālidāsa—5, 27, 188, 193
Kallaṭa—144
Kalyāṇarakṣita—philosoplical works of 102; 104
Kāma (Madana)—6, 122, 131, 175-6, 258, 261
Kāmakalā—184-5
Kāmakalāvilāsa—184
Kamalaśīla—102, 193, 218
Kāmandaka—75, 84
Kāmandakī—25, 30
Kāmarūpa—2, 47, 147, 272, 290
Kāmasūtra—8, 32, 35, 268
Kamauli grant—47
Kaṇādas—217
Kandacchedas—217
Kane, Dr. P. V.—250
Kāṇhaḍadeprabandha—175
Kaṇhullā—22
Kaniṣka—48, 277
Kannauj—2-3, 32, 43, 47, 87, 95, 101, 156, 193, 285, 314
Kanyakubja—14, 43, 156
Kāpālika—138, 142-4, 185-7, 213
Kapphiṇa—95
Kapphiṇābhyudaya—94-5, 284, 303
Karkoṭas—47, 134, 151
Karmadaṇḍa Śivaliṅga Ins.—6
Kāraṇikas or Karṇins—59
Karpūramañjarī—17, 31, 33, 38, 95, 186, 261 285
Kārttikeya—6, 175, 251, 333
Kāruṇikasiddhāntin—138, 220
Kashmir—2, 17, 23-4, 27-8, 33, 37, 47, 78, 86-7, 92, 132-3, 156, 161, 170, 181, 195, 277, 288-9
Kāśī—317
Kathākoṣa—101, 295
Kathiawad—90
Kātyāyana—306
Kaukka—95
Kaulajñānanirṇaya—117, 181-3, 186, 188-9
Kaulamata—303
Kauṭilya—19, 66, 75-6, 83, 245, 305-6
Kāverī—222
Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti—29
Kāvyālaṁkāra—94
Kāvyamīmāṁsā—95, 218, 317
Kāyasthas—57; sub-divisions of 58-9; as Brāhmaṇas 59; as Kṣatriyas 59; as writers 60, 66, 328

Keśava Kashmirin—138
Keyūraka—276
Khajurāho—133, 148, 170, 179, 208
Khalimpur copper-plate—97
Khaṇḍapāṇa—30
Kharagraha II—45, 328
Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvali—222
Khasa—64
Khurdadba—302
King's palace—318-20
Kinsāriya Insc.—99
Kirātas—65, 332
Korea—90, 336
Kosāmbī—287, 290
Kṛṣna (Lord)—93, 146, 221, 224-5, 303, 332
Kṛṣna III—4
Kṣapaṇaka (s)—207, 243
Kṣātradharma—22
Kṣatriyas—13-14, 16-18, 36, 39; duties and occupations of 44-7; clans of 48-9; social status of 49-50; education for 83-4, 201, 227, 236, 249, 252-3, 261, 302, 329
Kṣemagupta—39
Kṣemavarman—33
Kṣemendra—27-8, 59, 87, 145, 181
Kṣemīśvara—95
Kṣiraswāmī—271, 273, 275
Kulaṅtapas—219
Kumāragupta I—6, 83
Kumāragupta (Mālava prince)—323
Kumārapāla—39, 83
Kumārasambhava—5, 94
Kumārila—*see* Bhaṭṭa Kumārila
Kūrmapurāṇa—112, 221-2, 227, 291
Kuśa—94
Kuṣāṇas—49, 270
Kusumapura—29
Kuṭṭanīmatam—27-8, 35, 92, 94, 317
Kuvalayamālā—100, 201, 213-15, 219-21, 240
Kuvera—6, 97, 177-8, 225

L

Laghuśatātapa—18
Lahauviṣṇu Smṛti—57
Lakṣamaṇa—48
Lakṣamaṇarāja—39
Lakṣmī—12, 47, 96-7, 147, 166, 259-60, 262
Lakṣmīdhara—234-8, 297
Lakuliśa (Nakuliśa)—137-8; four disciples of 138, 140
Lalitādītya—2, 39, 67, 134, 156, 306, 312
Lalitavistara—50
Lampā—287, 290
Laṅkāvatāra—292
Later Guptas—1, 47
Lava—94
Law, B. C.—65
Libraries—90
Likhita Smṛti—226
Liṅga Purāṇa—259
Literature (literary activities)—92 ff; *kāvyas* and *nāṭakas* 92-101; philosophical 101-107; scientific 107-11; Purāṇas and Dharmaśastras 111-14; Tantraśāstra 114-21
Lokāditya—39
Lokanātha—54
Lokānanda—99
Lokāyatas—93
Lokāyatikas—217, 219
Lokeśvaraśataka—195
Love Marriage—13

M

Madanikā—25
Madanodaya—32
Madanotsava—24
Maḍḍorā (Māṇḍavyapura)—312
Mādhavagupta—323
Madhvācārya—138
Madhyadeśa—1-3, 7, 78, 107
Magadha—6, 65, 87, 229, 287-8

Māgadha—65
Magas—123, 329
Māgha—27, 50, 93, 95, 301, 335
Mahābhārata—5, 12, 30, 43, 47, 63, 153-4, 160, 178, 324
Mahādeva—259, 261
Mahākāla—28, 265, 333
Mahāsenaguptā—47
Mahāśvetā—14, 29, 30, 132, 249
Mahāvīra—221, 231, 262
Mahāvīracarita—24, 38, 94
Mahāyāna Buddhism—5, 8, 80, 91, 190; schools of 190-2; 195, 198, 334
Mahendra (of Nāḍol)—14
Mahendrapāla—98, 129, 285
Māheśvaras—6
Maheśvara Sūri—240
Mahimnastotra—74
Mahipāla I—95, 151
Mahmūd—326, 337
Mahmud-ibn-Qasim—3, 32, 39
Mahodaya—32, 285, 316
Maitreya—196
Majumdar, Dr. R. C.—47-8
Makkhali Ghoshal—215
Mālatī—282, 284
Mālatīmādhava—23, 30, 94, 142, 157, 160, 176, 185, 187-9
Mālavikāgnimitra—5
Mālawā—1, 3, 27, 32, 47, 83, 95, 129, 288, 307
Mālwā Insc.—98
Malaya—301
Malayasundarī—30
Malla—65
Mānasāra—312
Mānasingh Tomara—49
Mānasollāsa—267, 269, 293, 295, 297
Maṇḍor—16, 47-8, 67, 146, 169, 312
Maṇḍor Insc.—8
Maṇḍsor—1
Maṇitārā—309, 318
Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa—54, 118, 181
Manoratha—94
Mantras—7-8, 34
Mantrayāna—195, 198-9
Manu—14, 37, 40, 45, 57, 62-3, 65, 76, 111, 113, 173, 248
Manu Smṛti—298, 335
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa—35, 64, 163, 167-8, 179
Marriage rules—8ff
Masudi—37
Mataparīkṣā—95
Mathematics—literature on 108
Mathura—5-6, 126, 146, 174, 176, 178-9, 230, 274, 277-8, 289, 303
Mathura Pillar Insc.—6
Mātṛceta—80
Mātṛkas—167, 172
Matsyanyāya—3
Matsya Purāṇa—111-12, 114, 132, 222, 225-7
Matsyendranātha—55, 181, 187
Mattamayūra sect—105, 142
Mattavilāsa—142, 201
Maukhris—1, 47
Mauryas—215
Mayūra—92, 157
Mayūraśataka—92
Meat-diet—290-92
Medapaṭa—47
Medhātithi—11, 14-15, 17, 19, 21, 40, 46, 53, 62, 67, 113, 291, 298, 303, 330, 335
Meghadūta—5
Mekhalaka—279
Mewar—48
Milk products—290, 336
Miśra Maṇḍana—31; philosophical works of 106
Miśra, Vācaspati—17, 24; philosophical works of 104, 105-6, 138, 336
Mitraśarman—39
Moharājaparājaya—142, 220
Monghyr Plate—97
Moon—48
Moti Chandra, Dr.—274-5
Mṛcchakaṭika—8, 58

Mṛgacāris—217
Mudrārākṣasa—35, 58, 100, 207, 216
Muktākaṇa—94
Muktakumbha—102
Mūlarāja—98
Multan—313
Muñja—95-6, 208
Muslim (s)—4, 330, 335

N

Nāgabhaṭṭa I—3
Nāgabhaṭṭa II—3, 96, 208
Nāgānanda—23, 25, 92, 302
Nāgānanda—23
Nāgara-sarvasvasaṁgraha—268
Nāgārjuna—196
Nāgas—8, 180-81
Nahata, Agaracanda—52
Nakulīśa Pāśupatas—138-41 *see* also Lakulīśa
Nālandā—33, 87-8, 90, 91, 102, 149, 204, 229, 265, 288, 314, 336
Nālandā Copper Plate Insc.—34, 97
Nānaka—197
Nanda (dynasty)—53
Nārada—306
Nārāyaṇapāla—97
Nāthas—197
Navadurgas—165
Navagrahas—180, 333
Navasāhasāṅkacarita—96
Nepal—2
Nidānakathā—50
Nīlamatā Purāṇa—161, 175
Nirvāṇaśutras—292
Niṣāda—65
Niśithi commentary—272
Niṣpannayogāvali—202-3
Nītiśataka—77
Nītivākyāmṛta—31
Niyoga—19-20, 328
Non-Āryans—3, 8, 36, 44, 61
North/Northern India—1-4, 7, 47, 78, 92, 128, 153, 162, 170, 280, 303, 312-13, 326
Nyāya system—38
Nyāyakadalī—60, 105
Nyāyamañjarī—104

O

Ornaments—283-6, regional varieties of 284-6
Orissa—2
Osia—150

P

Padmapāda — philosophical works of 106
Padma Purāṇa—58, 227
Pahalvas—49
Pāhuḍādohā—213-14
Paiśāca (form of marriage)—13
Pālas—3-4, 47, 54, 64, 126
Pañcādbyāyī—138
Pañcamahāyajñas—7
Pañcatantra—76
Panchir—17
Pandey, Dr. R. B.—250
Pāṇḍuribhikṣus—219
Pāṇini—78-9, 88
Paramāras—4, 32, 39, 47-8, 95, 150
Parāśara—15-17, 22, 41, 45, 50, 54, 226, 247, 290
Parāśara Smṛti—331
Paraśurāma—24, 149
Parihāsapura—312
Pārijātaka—323
Parimala—96
Parivrājikas—30
Pariyātra (door-keeper)—277, 279
Pariyātra—287, 289
Pārśvanātha—221, 231
Pārvatī—27, 135-6, 163, 166, 172, 260
Pāṭliputra—7, 316
Patañjali—88
Pathak, Dr. Vishambhar—138
Patna—90
Paulomī—97

Persia—32, 43
Philosophy—5, 101-6; Buddhist 101-3; Jain 102-4; Brāhmaṇical 104-6
Pilgrimages—221-33; Hindu centres of 221-5; duties of Hindu pilgrims 225-6; suicide at centres of 226-8; Buddhist centres of 228-9; Jain places of 230-33; 333
Piṅgala—88
Polyandry—16-17
Polygamy—8, 16, 34
Popular beliefs—241-6; bad omens 242-3; good omens 243; dreams 243-4
Prabhākaravardhana—12, 20, 23, 45, 47, 128, 156-7, 254, 319, 328
Prabhudevī—32
Prabodhacandrodaya—142-3, 186, 201, 207
Prajāpatya (form of marriage)—13
Prajñākaragupta—102; philosophical works of 103
Prajñāpāramitā—47
Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi—205
Praśastapāda—philosophical works of 105
Praṣenajita—94
Pratāpaditya—67
Pratāpagadha Insc.—38, 167
Pratihāras—3-4, 38, 47-8, 67, 95, 165, 195, 246
Pratiloma marriage—8, 62
Pravara—8, 12, 55
Premi, Nathu Ram—207
Princely India—318-24
Prītikūṭa—86, 309
Priyadarśikā—13, 22, 25, 29-30, 92
Pṛthvīrājavijaya—14
Pulinda—64, 332
Pulkasa—301
Puṇḍravardhana—272
Punjab—2, 46
Purāṇas—5, 30, 111-12, 115, 324, 330
Purdā (Pardā)—8, 10, 23-4, 29, 328
Purohita—38
Puṣkara—224
Puṣkara Insc.—42
Puṣyabhūtis—1, 47, 139-30

R

Rādhā—146
Raghuvaṁśa—5
Rāhulamitra—33
Rahul Sankrityayana—196
Rājaputra—32, 49
Rājaśekhara—30-32, 38, 42, 67, 88-9, 95, 160, 218, 235, 237, 245, 260, 269, 285, 290, 320, 335
Rajasthan—2-3, 42, 51, 93 ,132, 137, 156, 168, 174-5, 179, 233
Rājataraṅgiṇi—23, 67, 151
Rajputs—chief ruling clans of 47 ff; Bais 47, 48, 49, 329
Rājyasabhā—321-4
Rājyaśrī—12, 14, 20-21, 31, 47, 254, 274
Rājyavardhana—27, 155, 323
Rākṣasa (form of marriage)—13
Rallādevī—26
Rāma—24, 48, 94, 149, 221, 224, 332
Rāmābhyudaya—94
Rāmabhadra—96
Rāmpālācarita—47
Rāmāyaṇa—5, 15, 30, 65, 94, 138, 142, 324
Rānī Bāi—32
Raṇṇādevī—34, 97
Rāptī—316
Rāṣṭrakūṭas—3-4, 31, 129
Rāsīkara—140
Ratnākara—94
Ratnakīrti—philosophical works of 103
Ratnaprabha Sūri—52
Ratnasiṁgha—87

Ratnavajra—philosophical works of 103
Ratnāvali—11, 25, 30, 92, 258, 302
Ravaṇavadha—93
Raviṣeṇa—43
Rest houses—7, 315
Revanta—179
Rhys Davids—193
Rock Edict XIII—63-4
Rohiṇī—97
Ṛśabhadeva—332
Rukmī—12
Ruhmi kingdom—271, 275
Rūpa—88

S

Sābā—6
Śabaras—164, 332
Sādhanamālā—118, 181, 202-3
Sāgarikā—30
Sahajayāna Buddhism—195, 198
Śaiva Āgamas—116
Śaivas—6, 137, 141-2, 259, 330
Śaivism (Kashmir)—144-5
Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas—43
Sakalatirthastotra—233
Śākambharī (goddess)—167
Śakas—49
Śākta Tantras—117
Śāktas—330
Śakti (Devī)—162-73; modes of worshipping 164-5; divisions of the worshippers of 165; days sacred to 165; as Navadurgas 165; various forms of 166-7; epigraphic and sculptural data regarding 167-73; as Aṣṭamātrikas 170; as Mahiṣāsuramardinī 172, 183-5, 188; as Vindhyavāsinī 225, 332; as Durgā or Caṇḍikā 236, 241-2; as Mātrikas 242; as Kātyāyanī 250, 332; as Ṣaṣṭhīdevī 251; as Skandamātā 252; as Cāmuṇḍā 332; as Kauśiki 332, 333, 336
Śākyabodhi — philosophical works of 102
Śālastambha dynasty—128
Samarāiccakahā—12-13, 100, 143, 212, 214, 219, 284, 291
Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra—123, 312-13
Samayamātrikā—27-8
Saṁdhimata—94
Śaṁkha Smṛti—25
Sāṁkṛtyāyana—30
Sammatiyas (Buddhists)—31
Saṁskāras—6, 247 ff; meaning and objects of 247-8; number of 248-9; first nine 249-50; customs relating to pregnancy and birth 250-52; educational 252-3; *vivāha* 254-6; funeral 256-8
Sāmvaladevī—22
Samvarta—15, 40
Saṁyogins—217
Sanchi—6
Sandhyā—30
Śaṅkara (commentator of *HC*)—273, 276, 278, 320
Śaṅkarācārya—31, 46; philosophical works 106, 115, 153, 155, 161, 185, 192, 198, 218, 222, 247, 333, 336
Śaṅkaravarman—23, 67, 95, 134
Śaṅkha—11, 15, 37, 54, 225
Śaṅkhadadhamas—219
Śaṅkhadatta—94
Sāṅkhya—44
Saṅkīrṇa castes—62 ff; a few examples of 63-66; list of 69-73
Sanskrita—5, 7, 30, 335
Śāntideva—literary works of 101, 118
Śāntirakṣita—philosophical works of 102, 193, 292
Sapiṇḍa marriage—11
Saranatha—5-6, 180
Sārasvatasūkta—318

Sarasvatī—31, 94, 166, 174, 249, 333
Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha—138-9
Sarvajñamuni — philosophical works of 106
Sarvānanda Swāmī—271
Sarvāṇṇi—97
Sāsanacaturtriṁśikā—230
Śaśāṅka—47, 128, 324
Ṣaṣṭhidevī—251
Satavāhanas—39
Satī system—10, 16, 20-23, 328
Sauras—330
Saurāṣṭra—28
Sāvitrī—261, 272, 282
Sciences—5, 107-11; Grammar 107; Mathematics, Astrology and Astronomy 108-110; Āyurveda 110; alchemy 111
Senas—64
Shah, Dr. Umakanta—209
Sharma, Dr. Dasharatha—42, 137
Sharma, Mrs. Malathi—48
Siddhakṣetras (Jain Pilgrimages) —230-32
Siddharṣisūri—111, 31, 89, 100, 214; sects mentioned by 214, 217-19, 264, 329, 332, 335
Siddhas—Vajrayānic 118-120; 196-7
Sikṣāsamuccaya—201, 292
Śilabhadra—90
Śīlābhaṭṭārikā—32
Śilāditya I—98
Śīllā—16
Sind (Sindh)—3, 39, 54, 246, 287, 293, 314, 328
Sindhurāja—96
Siprā—312
Śiśupālavadha—27, 93-4, 149, 303
Śitā—15, 24, 94, 149, 225, 253
Śiva—6, 27, 97, 128; rulers devoted to 129-30; five fold forms of 130; mythology of 131; days holy to 131-4; temples of 132-4; sculptures of 134-7; sects of worshippers of 137-45, 155, 163, 173, 183-5, 195, 225, 228, 242, 244, 333, 336
Śivaswāmin—94
Siyāḍoni Ins—57
Sīyaka—42
Skanda—259
Skandagupta—1, 5
Skandamātā—252
Skanda Purāṇa—56, 260
Smith, V. A.—54
Smṛtis—5, 11, 13-15, 17, 19 37, 40, 45-6, 112-13
Soddḥala—58, 60
Somadeva Sūri—31, 33, 299
Somānanda—144
Somanātha temple—28, 133, 172
Someśvara (minister)—26
Someśvara Dīkṣita—39
Śrāddha—257
Śreṇi—8, 57
Śrīdāsa—287-8
Śrīkaṇṭha—138, 282, 287, 293
Śrīmātā temple—28
Śṛṅgāraśataka—32-3
Sthālikas—219
Sthāṇīśvara—316
Sthiramati—91
Strabo—270
Strīrājyas—32
Subandhu—27
Subhadrā—11, 32
Subhāṣitas—31
Subhāṣitāvali—32
Śūdra (s)—8, 16-17, 37, 40-42; as rulers 46, 53, 50-51; disabilities of 53; higher punishments for 53-4; economic and religious position of 54-6; concessions for 55; subcastes among 56-7, 66; education for 85-6, 200, 227, 236, 247, 249, 252, 305, 328-9, 331
Śūdraka—39, 45, 83, 88, 266-7, 276, 283, 312
Śūdraka (author)—8
Sudṛṣti—276
Sugandhā—23

Śukanāsa—76, 82
Śukra—12, 17, 22, 24-5, 39-41, 53-4, 58, 67, 75-6, 79, 85, 123, 161, 303, 312, 314, 321-2
Śukranīti—22, 113
Śukranītisāra—37, 58, 303, 312
Sūktimuktāvali—32
Sūlaiman—36, 271, 275, 304
Sun—43, 48
Śuṅgas—39
Suprabhadeva—93
Sūra—312
Surapura—312
Surendravatī—23
Sureśvara—philosophical works of 106
Sūrya—6, 140, 155-9; kings devoted to 155-6; centres of the worship of 156-7; images of 157-9, 179 235, 244, 333
Sūryaśataka—157
Sutlej—7
Sūtras—7, 78
Sūyya—56, 306-7, 312
Sūyyapura—312
Svāhā—97, 176
Svayamvara—13-14
Śvetambaras—207-10, 329
Syādavāda—329
Śyena sacrifice—21

T

Taittarīya Brahmaṇa—65
Takakusu—191
Ṭakka—40, 287
Tang Dynasty—271
Tantra Śāstra—114; Brāhmaṇical 115-17; Vaiṣṇava 115-16; Śaiva 116-17; Śākta 117; Buddhist 118-121, 181-2, 184
Tāntrik—6, 34, 290, 303, 330-31
Tāntrik Buddhism—schools of 195, 196, 198-200, 205
Tāntrism—127-8, 161, 118-9; philosophical systems of 183-4; important technical terms of 184-5; important features of 187-9, 330, 333-4
Tapas—7
Tārā (goddess)—333
Tāraka—43
Tārāpīḍa—39, 83, 303, 315
Tathāgatabhadra—87
Tattvasaṁgraha—102, 218
Telipā—55
Temples—different styles of 123; at Osia 126
Thanesvara—1, 47, 153, 324
Tibet—90, 336
Tibetans—2, 326-7
Tilakamañjarī—29-30, 96, 208,
Tippera Grant—54 212-13, 249, 271, 284
Toilet—266-70; regional varieties of 284
Tomaras—4, 47
Towns and town life—311-25; types of 315-16; urban life in general 316-18
Tridaṇḍikas—214
Trikamata—144-5
Tripura—39, 47
Trivarga—35
Trivikrama—38
Turks—326, 328

U

Udaipur Insc.—98, 146, 149
Udayana—30
Udayanācārya—philosophical works of 104, 105
Udayasundarīkathā—60
Udbhaṭa—94
Udita—2
Udyāna—290
Udyotana Sūri—100, 213, 218, 335
Udyotakara — philosophical works of 104
Ujjainī—28, 132, 312-13, 315-16, 324
Ulūkas—217
University—Nālandā 6, 90; Valabhī 91; Vakramaśīla 91-2

Upaladeva—52
Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā—11, 13, 28, 31, 33, 100, 125, 268, 297, 303
Upaniṣads—333
Upapurāṇas—112
Upavarṣa—88
Ugra—64
Utpala—144
Utpala (commentator)—144
Uttararāmacarita—30, 35, 84, 94, 252-3, 293

V

Vaḍnagar—48
Vāgbhaṭṭa—110, 287-91, 301
Vaidya, C. V.—41
Vaikhānasas—155
Vaillabhaṭṭaswāmin Insc.—57, 98
Vaiśālī—289
Vaiśyas—16-17, 40, 45; as kings 46 47; professions of 50; social status of 51; sub-divisions of 52; education for 84-5, 236, 249, 252, 302, 328-9
Vājpeya sacrifice—38
Vajrayāna—195, 198, 200; philosophy of 202, 333-4
Vākpati—2, 94, 123, 160, 179, 307
Vākyapadīya—99
Valabhi—2, 90-91, 93, 124, 128, 195, 337
Vallabhadeva—32
Vālmīki—30
Vāmana—94
Vanarāja Cāvaḍa—208, 312
Vanasphar—48
Varāhamihira—32-3, 49, 108-9, 148-9, 157, 161, 173, 175, 216, 266, 268
Varāha Purāṇa—160, 221, 238, 291
Varāṇasī—28
Vararuci—88
Varmalāṭa—93
Varṇaratnākara—197, 273
Varṇas—45, 49
Varṇaśaṁkaratva—45
Varṇāśramadharma—45
Varṣa—88
Varuṇa—6, 177
Vasantagadha—93
Vasantagadha Insc.—28, 167
Vāsavadattā—30
Vāsavadattā—27, 29
Vasiṣṭha—11, 17-18, 39, 48, 62
Vāsudeva—262
Vasugupta—144
Vateśvara Sāmanta—101
Vatsrāja—3, 129, 208
Vātsyāyana—8, 32
Vavvā—16
Vāyavīya Saṁhitā—138, 142
Vāyu Purāṇa—64, 215
Vedānta—30, 44, 105
Vedāntasūtras—46
Vedas—8, 30, 44-5, 80, 82, 87, 114, 173-4, 242, 329-30
Vedic—6, 7, 38
Veṇīsaṁhāra—22, 100, 146, 157, 271
Vetravatī—312
Vicakṣaṇā—285
Vidagdharāja—209
Viddhaśālabhañjikā—16, 30-31
Viddyutadantas—216
Vidiśā—83, 312
Vidyānanda—218
Vidyās—number of 75-7, 79, five standard 80
Vijayanikā—32
Vijñāneśvara—67
Vikaṭanitambā—30
Vikramapura—316
Vikramaśīla—90-91, 103, 195, 336
Vilāsavatī—241, 252
Vilāsavatīkathā—296
Vilavāsas—219
Villages and village life—305-10; a Brāhmaṇa village 308-9; a forest village 309-10; a Cāṇḍāla colony 310-11; pastoral life in 311

Vināyakapāla—101
Vindhyaketu—22
Vindhyas—2-3, 7
Vindhyavāsinī—225, 232, *see* also Sakti
Vinītadeva—philosophical works of 101
Vīramitrodaya—16
Viśākhadatta—100
Viśakhila—32
Viṣamavanalīlā—95
Viṣṇu—3, 6, 27, 56, 97, 122-4, 126-7, 135, 137, 145; incarnations of 145-6; sculptures of 146-50; temples of 150-3; Vaiṣṇava sects 153-5, 163, 166, 173, 180, 195, 224-5, 237, 332-3, 336
Viṣṇu Purāṇa—259
Viṣṇu Smṛti—58
Viśvanatha temple—28
Viśvavarman—6
Viśvedevāh—308
Viṭaputra—32
Vivīdhatīrthakalpa—230, 233
Vratas—Cāndrayaṇa 55, 234; Sāntapana 55; classification of 234; Brāhmaṇical 234-8; *vāra-vratas* 235; *tithi vratas* 235-7; *māsa vratas* 237-8; faster's duties 238; deities connected with 237-8; Jain 239-40; Buddhist 240-41; Vaṭasāvitri 260-61; Gaṇagaura 261
Vyādi—88
Vyāsa—11, 15, 41, 62, 65, 160, 248, 253
Vyāsa Smṛti—22, 58, 68
Vyomaśekhara—105

W

Watters, Thomas—241
West women's country—32
Western India—11
Widow (s)—life of 18-19, 22-23
Women—position in Gupta age 8, 10; marriageable age of 14; remarriage of 17-18; an ideal wife 24; the feminine ideal 25-27; education of 29-32; military and political capacity of 32-33; general attitude towards 33-5

Y

Yadu—48
Yajñas—6
Yajñatāpasas—217
Yājñavalkya—63, 84, 111, 248, 306
Yājñavalkya Smṛti—25, 57, 63
Yajurveda—215
Yākinī Mahattara—31
Yakṣas—333
Yama—6, 60, 177, 291
Yama Smṛti—291, 298
Yamunā 175, 177-80, 221, 224
Yaśaskara—86-7
Yaśodharavarman—1
Yaśomatī—20, 26, 282
Yaśovarman—2, 93-4
Yaṣṭigraha—309
Yaṣṭivana—87
Yavanas—49, 66
Yati—6
Yoga (*Yogic*)—49, 181-2, 184-6, 188, 337
Yogācāra (Buddhist school)—190, 193, 195, 198
Yogacaryā—81
Yuan Chwang—2, 11, 24, 28, 36, 40-41, 46-7, 50, 54, 63, 67, 79-80, 87-8, 90-3, 128, 132, 156-7, 170, 190, 193-4, 201, 207, 221-22, 227-9, 241, 256, 270, 272-6, 283, 287-90, 293, 297, 299, 302, 306, 312-13, 322, 324
Yuktikalpataru—312
Yuvarāja II—142